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The War in Egypt and the Soudan.



HOOVER INSTITUTION
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THE WAR
IN
EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN

AN EPISODE IN
THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE;

BEING
A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE SCENES AND EVENTS OF THAT GREAT DRAMA,
AND SKETCHES OF THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS IN IT.

By THOMAS ARCHER, F.R.Hist.Soc.,
Author of *Fifty Years of Social and Political Progress, Pictures and Royal Portraits, &c. &c.*

Illustrated by Numerous Engravings.

THE events of the last three or four years have kindled such vivid interest in all that relates to the active intervention of Great Britain in the affairs of Egypt, that the time has evidently arrived for presenting the public with a compendious, interesting, and accurate history of the series of occurrences which led to the despatch of British ships and British troops to Alexandria, Cairo, the Nile, Suakim, and the Soudan, and all that followed thereupon.

There could scarcely be a more exciting story than that which recounts the events and incidents of this important episode in British History—a story which tells of heroic endurance and of brave achievements by the men of the army and the navy of Britain; from the time when our ships appeared at Alexandria for the protection of the European residents, and the Fellaheen of Arabi were confronted by the Highlanders of Alison, to the brave efforts of Hicks and Baker, and the battles of El-Teb and Tamai—from the first campaign after the arrival of Lord Wolseley, and the victory of Tel-el-Kebir, to the campaign now happily ended; including the advance of the troops by the Nile and the desert, the battles of Abou-Klea and Kerbekan, and the successive achievements of Wolseley, Stewart, Earle, Graham, and other men whose names form a roll of honour, of loyalty, courage, and devotion.

In such a narrative the general history of Egypt has no necessary place. The present work, therefore, will be a lively chronicle of modern and recent events in that country, and their relation to the policy of other nations. So far as their relation to Britain is concerned the subject has grown to such

importance that it has become necessary for all persons with a claim to intelligence to gain at least a general comprehension of what is sometimes called "The Egyptian Question."

The narrative will be elucidative of character as well as of incident; that is it will touch on the individualities of the men who have been prominent actors in the scenes described, as well as furnish a record of their doings and the consequences of them. Above all there will be unfolded the story of the man, the incidents of whose beautiful life—the intelligence of whose untimely death have caused a thrill of emotion in every heart: the story of General Gordon, whose example of simplicity, loyalty, courage, and single-minded devotion is scarcely paralleled in history, and is not to be discovered in the pages of romance. Of his earlier achievements in philanthropy, of that marvellous influence over all kinds of men—which had its exemplification in China and the Soudan—and of the final, and, as it proved, fatal enterprise, which ended in the determined and unaided defence of Khartoum, and the death of the hero himself,—the narrative will be perhaps for the first time consecutive and complete.

It may be said then, that the work, as a whole, will exhibit the panorama of recent Egyptian history, its life, colour, and movement,—it will tell of the invasion of Egypt and the assertion of French authority by Napoleon Bonaparte; the British intervention and protection; the extraordinary supremacy and energy of Mohammed Ali; the relations between Britain, Egypt, and the great European powers; the adventures of fearless travellers and indefatigable explorers; the enterprise of Sir Samuel Baker, his energetic endeavours to abolish the slave traffic, his governorship of the Soudan; the heroic mission of Gordon in the same cause while in the same office; the scheme of mixed or dual control over Egyptian finance; the symptoms of revolt and insurrection; the attempts of false prophets; the relative influence of the Mahdi and Osman Digma; all the warlike operations of British forces by sea and land; the mode of fighting in the Soudan; the advance of the troops by the Nile and the desert; the advance from Suakim; the arrival of the Australian contingent at Suakim; the defence of the zarebas and the onward march. Those financial problems which have been "the burden of Egypt," and especially the burden of the "fellaheen," who have been ground to the dust by taxation, will be touched on lightly but explicitly; while the intricacies of political machinations will be unravelled so far as is possible. The narrative will be continued to the latest events of the active operations of the war; and descriptions of the country, the people and their customs, will not be wanting.

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THE WAR

IN

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.



MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES G. GORDON, R.E., C.B.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY GÉRNZET FRÈRES, BRUSSELS
IN MARCH 1880

BY PERMISSION OF THE LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO

BLACKIE & SON, LONDON, GLASGOW EDINBURGH & DUBLIN

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THE WAR

IN

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Egypt. Interest attaching to the Name. The Black Country. The Nile and its Inundation. Fertility. The Desert. The Soudan. Unchanged Customs of the People. Scriptural Reminders. Two Points of Past History. Slavery. The Arabs and the Turks. Where the Present History begins. Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt. Important Geographical Position of the Country. British Intervention. Mohammed Ali. His Birth, Parentage, and Education. Character. Rise and Influence. The Memlooks. Slaves ruled by Slaves.

EGYPT! What a multitude of suggestions that name includes! What countless interesting fancies—what fascinating and romantic traditions and historical records, which, long buried in tomb and temple, or undecipherable during a period extending so far backward as to be itself dim in the mist of ages, have been, by comparatively recent discoveries, made sharp and clear to the eyes of laborious interpreters and profound scholars, who have given to the world the results of their researches! At the very mention of the name Egypt, imagination travels back upon the stream of time to those early periods of human history beyond which all seems vague and uncertain, because we are not in possession of any historic record—of any chart to guide our course, either to inquiry or observation. The great, and to many minds, almost overwhelming, attraction of the history and the antiquities of Egypt, is that they possess so many venerable and even sacred associations with the records of Holy Scripture and the history of the Jewish people. But though they refer to an age anterior to the Scripture History,—so early that

dates become conjectural, and are not to be identified with any defined historical period,—they unmistakably show that even in what is sometimes supposed to have been the infancy of the world this people possessed deep and mysterious learning, knowledge of arts and sciences, the symbolism of a religious system, and a sacred or a secret language the interpretation of which still engages the attention of Oriental scholars.

The mere mention of the word "Egypt" at once reminds us that the name itself is modern, when compared with those hieroglyphs in which the land that was old when Greece was young is called Kem or Kemi. This has been supposed to have some affinity with the Hebrew word Ham, the name given to Egypt in the Psalms, and like Kem, meaning the black land. It is a simple and obvious name for a country of which the whole of the cultivable earth is black, chiefly, if not entirely, consisting of the rich fertile black mud, brought down by the torrent of the overflowing river, whose name, *Nile*, or El Neel, signifies inundation.

Can it be wondered at that this black country, the country of the fertilizing Nile, has been called the Garden of the World, or that even the Israelites, after they had escaped from the slavery, which has ever been the deadly "burden of Egypt," should sometimes have looked back with longing to those fruits and vegetables, of which the luxuriant profusion was not likely to be forgotten during long wanderings in the desert? Dates, oranges, lemons, figs, bananas, pomegranates, peaches, apricots, mulberries, grapes, olives, almonds, and some less important fruits, besides trees that blossom and give leaf and shade, and hundreds of varieties of flowers (even the desert species number above two hundred), amidst which the rose, jasmine, violet, and oleander are the most common and profuse, flourish in that fruitful soil. There the easily cultivated vegetables in common use are beans of different kinds, including the prolific lentil; pease, lettuces, cucumbers, water-melons, carrots, turnips, onions, leeks, garlic, radishes, cress, egg-plants, mallows, and a great number of grasses and herbs; there are also poppies, saffron, madder, castor-oil plants, mustard, rape, cummin, coriander, and other valuable seeds

and spices. In the three agricultural seasons, of four months each, into which the year is divided, the successive crops are, in the autumn—beginning in July with the rising of the Nile—maize and millet, the two staples of bread; in the winter, when the waters of the Nile recede, wheat, barley, clover, lentils, and pulse are sown. These are harvested seven months later, in the summer; when the sugar-cane is planted, tobacco is sown, and the lands of the Delta are filled with the seed of rice, cotton, and indigo.

This black land is full of natural wealth, and that wealth is protected by the nature of its surroundings;—by the deserts of the Soudan (which means, not the black land, but the land of the blacks) and those other more arid reaches of sand that are to-day much what they were centuries ago; by the rugged chains of hills and mountains that inclose the Nile Valley, and by the impassable cataracts of the river itself. Hence its later Hebrew name, Mizra or Mazor (or the plural Mizraim, denoting the division into Lower and Upper Egypt), are almost identical with the Arabic Misr or Masr, all of which mean fortified or guarded round, a signification from which the Greek Ægupta or Aiguptos is supposed to be derived. However this may have been, the Kem or Ham of remote antiquity, the Misr or Mazor of the Hebrew and the Arabic, the Egypt of the present, is the country which has within its boundaries the black land that gives its people the means of subsistence, and the deserts and chains of rocky hills which defend it from external foes. This is the Egypt of the fame of which the old world was full; this is the Egypt which continues but little changed after centuries of tyranny, slavery, and misrule, the country which to-day is the problem that engages the attention of the whole civilized world.

The problem would be easier to solve were it not that Egypt has enlarged its authority within the present century. It is true that the commencement of the Nubian desert is the usual limitation of the journey made by the tourist who visits Egypt and "does the Nile." Beyond Assouan the desert barrier commences, and for centuries the same barrier kept civilization from approaching the centre of Africa: the obstacles presented by the second

and third cataracts making the river also too difficult for the explorer, who found it almost impassable for more than 200 miles. From Wadi Halfa, southwards to Hannek, a distance of 180 miles, another desert extends, spreading also for miles eastward and westward on both sides the Nile. For the same length the river is also encumbered with ridges of rock. It was this boundary of the desert that kept the warlike and independent tribes of the Soudan quite apart from the inhabitants of Egypt Proper, and has made the Soudanese and the Egyptians two distinct peoples, that have not the least sympathy one with the other. The Nubian desert was the southern limit of the Roman domination during their occupation of Egypt, and southward of that again are the lowlands of ancient Ethiopia, which in the days of the Pharaohs was an Egyptian colony, with the important city of Meroe for its capital.

We shall presently have to notice, however briefly, the conquests by which Egypt under the rule of Mohammed Ali acquired and annexed the more distant provinces of the Soudan, taking Nubia and pushing on as far as the Abyssinian highlands. It is sufficient here to note that (as may be seen by reference to the map) the Soudan includes all that portion of Central Africa which lies between the 10th and the 20th degrees of latitude. But the term has become somewhat indefinite because of those recent extensions, and it should be remembered that as "the Egyptian Soudan" may often mean only the southern portion of the Egyptian kingdom, it has been recommended that the terms used to distinguish the provinces should be "the Egyptian provinces of the Soudan, the Equatorial provinces, and the Red Sea provinces."[1]

Of course Egypt, without mention of the Soudan, would mean only the original land of the Nile valley north of the first cataract, and would include no part of Nubia, the desert, or the southern territory, with its mixed tribes, against whom the ancient Egyptians sent out expeditions as they did against Syria, or as Mohammed

[1] *Report on the Egyptian Provinces of the Sûdan, Red Sea, and Equator*, compiled and published by the War Office, 1884.

Ali did before he succeeded in annexing them to the pashalik. That annexation has not amalgamated the inhabitants. It has not to any great extent assimilated them. The Egyptians of to-day may frequently resemble their ancestors of the time of the Pharaohs, and some travellers have seen a remarkable likeness between many Copts of Upper Egypt, and the figures, or rather the faces, as represented on the ancient monuments. But this resemblance is not to be noticed among the Arabs, though some of the articles they use, and the manner in which both men and women dress the hair, frizzing it out and plaiting it into numberless tails, often resembles the representations on the walls of the ancient temples. The Arabs of the desert, however, remind us emphatically of the unchanging character of the eastern people. They are Mohammedans, but the women do not conceal their faces. In their wandering pastoral life,—in the dress of the more distinguished among them, who are fond of white and flowing garments,—in their food,—in the perfumes of myrrh, cinnamon, and cassia, used by the women, and in the frequent anointing of the head with oil which makes the face to shine, and runs down the beard and to the skirts of the garments,—the customs of the better sort of Arabs are but little changed from those of the times of the patriarchs.

The Arabs generally adhere strictly to their ancient customs, independently of the comparatively recent laws established by Mahomet. Thus, concubinage is not considered a breach of morality, neither is it regarded by the legitimate wives with jealousy. They attach great importance to the laws of Moses, and to the customs of their forefathers, and quite fail to understand the reason for a change of habit in any respect where necessity has not suggested the reform. They are creatures of necessity; their nomadic life is compulsory, as the existence of their herds and flocks depends upon the pasturage. With the change of seasons they must change their localities that they may secure a supply of fodder for their cattle.

Driven to and fro by the accidents of climate, the Arab has been compelled to become a wanderer; and precisely as the wild

beasts of the country are driven from place to place, either by the arrival of the fly, the lack of pasturage, or by the want of water, even so must the flocks of the Arab obey the law of necessity in a country where the burning sun and total absence of rain for nine months of the year convert the green pastures into a sandy desert. The Arabs and their herds must follow the example of the wild beasts, and live as wild and wandering a life. In the absence of a fixed home, without a city, or even a village that is permanent, there can be no change of custom. There is no stimulus to competition in the style of architecture that is to endure only for a few months, no municipal laws suggest deficiencies that originate improvements. The Arab cannot halt in one spot longer than the pasturage will support his flocks, therefore his necessity is food for his beasts. The object of his life being fodder, he must wander in search of the ever-changing supply. His wants must be few, as the constant change of encampment necessitates the transport of all his household goods; thus he reduces to a minimum the domestic furniture and utensils. No desires for strange and fresh objects excite his mind to improvement or alter his original habits; he must limit his *impedimenta*, not increase them. Thus, with a few necessary articles he is contented. Mats for his tent, ropes manufactured with the hair of his goats and camels, pots for carrying fat, water-jars and earthenware pots or gourd-shells for containing milk, leather water-skins for the desert, and sheep-skin bags for his clothes—these are the requirements of the Arabs. Their patterns have never changed, but the water-jar of to-day is of the same form that was carried to the well by the women of thousands of years ago. The conversation of the Arabs is in the exact style of the Old Testament. The name of God is coupled with every trifling incident in life, and they believe in the continual action of Divine special interference. Should a famine afflict the country, it is expressed in the stern language of the Bible—"The Lord has sent a grievous famine on the land;" or, "The Lord called for a famine, and it came upon the land." Should their cattle fall sick, it is considered to be an affliction by Divine command; or should the flocks prosper

and multiply, particularly during one season, the prosperity is attributed to special interference. Nothing can happen in the usual routine of daily life without a direct connection with the hand of God, according to the Arab's belief.

This striking similarity to the descriptions of the Old Testament is exceedingly interesting to a traveller when residing among these curious and original people. With the Bible in one hand and these unchanged tribes before the eyes, there is a thrilling illustration of the sacred record; the past becomes present, the veil of three thousand years is raised, and the living picture is a witness to the exactness of the historical description. At the same time, there is a light thrown on many obscure passages in the Old Testament by the experience of the present customs and figures of speech of the Arabs; which are precisely those that were practised at the periods described. The sudden and desolating arrival of a flight of locusts, the plague, or any other unforeseen calamity, is attributed to the anger of God, and is believed to be an infliction of punishment upon the people thus visited, precisely as the plagues of Egypt were specially inflicted upon Pharaoh and the Egyptians.

Should the present history of the country be written by an Arab scribe, the style of the description would be purely that of the Old Testament, and the various calamities or the good fortunes that have in the course of nature befallen both the tribes and individuals would be recounted either as special visitations of Divine wrath, or blessings for good deeds performed. If in a dream a particular course of action is suggested, the Arab believes that God has *spoken* and directed him. The Arab scribe or historian would describe the event as the "voice of the Lord" ("kallam el Allah") having spoken unto the person, or, that God appeared to him in a dream and "*said*," &c. Thus, much allowance would be necessary on the part of a European reader for the figurative ideas and expressions of the people. As the Arabs are unchanged, the theological opinions which they now hold are the same as those which prevailed in remote ages, with the simple addition of their belief in Mahomet as the Prophet.

There is a fascination in the unchangeable features of the Nile regions. There are the vast pyramids that have defied time; the river upon which Moses was cradled in infancy; the same sandy deserts through which he led his people; and the watering-places where their flocks were led to drink. The wild and wandering tribes of Arabs, who thousands of years ago dug out the wells in the wilderness, are represented by their descendants unchanged, who now draw water from the deep wells of their forefathers with the skins that have never altered their fashion. The Arabs, gathering with their goats and sheep around the wells to-day, recall the recollection of that distant time when "Jacob went on his journey and came into the land of the people of the east. And he looked and behold a well in the field; and, lo, there were three flocks of sheep lying by it, for out of that well they watered the flocks, and a great stone was upon the well's mouth. And thither were all the flocks gathered; and they rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep, and put the stone again upon the well's mouth in his place." The picture of that scene would be an illustration of Arab daily life in the Nubian deserts, where the present is the mirror of the past.[1]

References to the history of Ancient Egypt, its successive dynasties, its religion and the records depicted on the walls of tombs and temples, do not come within the scope of these pages. The present narrative will have comparatively little to do with the places visited by travellers who make the usual journey from Cairo up the Nile to the first or even to the second cataract, and are lost in contemplation of the remains of those marvellous buildings inscribed with the strange stories of a former world. The Persian invasion under Cambyses the son of Cyrus,—the conquest by Alexander of Macedon, who founded the city bearing his name,—the rule of the Ptolemies,—the Roman intervention and subsequent domination,—the tragedy of Cleopatra, Cæsar, and Antony,—the rule of Constantine,—the introduction of Christianity,—the influence and power of the early patriarchs of the Church in Alexandria, and those fatal controversies which left a population consisting

[1] Sir Samuel Baker, *Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia.*

chiefly of monks, slaves, and soldiers, unable to resist the Arab followers of Mahomet from subjugating the country on the declension of the Empire of Rome,—are subjects which would have no place, even if they could have space, in a narrative that will deal with recent events, and a great and important episode in the history of the British Empire.

It will be well, however, to bear in mind, that during its entire history Egypt has been at once the supporter and the victim of slavery. In the intrigues, the struggles, the murders, that changed the Arab dynasties and often left the power in the hands of alien tribes, the throne was more than once occupied by some slave, who by treachery, assassination, or ability, rose to be a tyrant. At last the rule of slaves by slaves became an organized system. Saladin, the chivalrous and magnificent opponent of Richard Cœur de Lion and the sovereigns who led the third crusade, was himself a Kurd, a commander of a band of mercenaries who had been sent by the ruler of Aleppo to the aid of the government of Cairo, where there was an insurrection caused by rival claimants to the office of vizier. The contest was ended by the able Sa-lah-Ed-Deen or Saladin himself becoming vizier and afterwards seizing the sovereignty. As he was not of the family of Mohammed he refrained from taking the title of Khalif or Caliph, for the Caliph had come to be a kind of Mohammedan pope, living mostly at Baghdad and as "*Imaum*," representing the spiritual chieftainship. Saladin took the title of Sultan, and as he was a usurper he guarded against the probable resentment of the Egyptian officers by surrounding himself with a body-guard composed mostly of slaves purchased or made prisoners in the provinces which bordered the western shores of the Caspian Sea. These men, many of whom were afterwards emancipated, were called Memlooks or Mamlouks, and by their position and office gained immense influence, so that by intrigue and combining their interests they afterwards obtained enormous privileges and almost unchecked control, especially under subsequent weak or incapable sultans, who virtually gave the sovereign authority into their hands. The result was that the governing dynasties of Memlooks were no longer Arab—one was established

by a Boharite—the other by a Borgite or Circassian Memlook slave. The last of them ended with Ghorēe, when he was defeated by the Turks, who, under Selim the First, became masters of Egypt, and made it a pashalik under the Sultan of the Osmanlis; but though the Memlooks were deprived of the sovereign power they were suffered to retain their influence and authority by paying tribute, conforming their religious opinions to the decision of the Mufti of Constantinople, using public prayers for the Sultan, and placing his name on the coins. During the turbulent and demoralizing rule of the Turkish Beys, who were themselves ruled by the Memlooks, the history of Egypt for above two hundred years was an arid record of tyranny, oppression, and vice. In 1767 the Memlook Ali Bey, said to have been the son of a Circassian peasant, and sold at Cairo when he was twelve years old as a slave to the pasha, succeeded in achieving such power that he declared himself independent of the Sultan, and having subdued Syria and Arabia ventured to assume the supreme control in Egypt and to become an ally of the Russians, who were then making war with the Turks; but Ali was eventually deserted by his generals and taken prisoner in an engagement, after which it was represented that he had died of his wounds, though it was generally believed that he had been assassinated. This was in 1773, and the son-in-law of Ali succeeded him and was received by the Sultan as Pasha of Egypt. After his death there was a joint pashalik of Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey, who are principally remarkable because they opposed and were defeated by Napoleon Bonaparte at "the battle of the Pyramids" on the French invasion of Egypt in 1798, at which date the course of the present narrative may be said naturally to commence.

In 1798 the authority of the sultan, in Egypt, had been reduced to a merely nominal sovereignty, and the struggle between his government and the Memlook Beys, which was again agitating and impoverishing the country, gave an excuse for Napoleon Bonaparte to attempt an invasion with the pretended object of restoring the legitimate influence of the Porte. That his real object was the conquest of Egypt in order to compensate for the

loss of the West India colonies of France, and for the still more important purpose of advancing on the British possessions in India, was afterwards admitted in his memoirs. "There were," he says, "three objects in the expedition to Egypt,—First, To establish a French colony on the Nile which would prosper without slaves, and serve France instead of the Republic of St. Domingo and of all the sugar islands. Secondly, To open a market for our manufactures in Africa, Arabia, and Syria, and to supply our commerce with all the productions of those vast countries. Thirdly, Setting out from Egypt, as from a place of arms, to lead an army of 60,000 men to the Indies to excite the Mahrattas and oppressed people of those extensive regions to insurrection. Sixty thousand men, half Europeans and half recruits from the burning climates of the equator and the tropics, carried by 10,000 horses and 50,000 camels, having with them provisions for sixty days, water for five days, and a train of artillery of a hundred and fifty pieces, with double supplies of ammunition, would have reached the Indus in four months. Since the invention of shipping the ocean has ceased to be an obstacle, and the desert is no longer an impediment to an army possessed of camels and dromedaries in abundance."

The employment of agents to excite discontent and insurrection in the countries which he intended afterwards to enter with an army, that he might subject them to military oppression, and seize their resources, was one of the early methods adopted by the Corsican general. It had been successful in Switzerland, in Venice, and in Italy, and had been tried in Ireland with the result of fomenting a rebellion under the direction of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had professed to belong to the Jacobin revolutionary party while in Paris, and whose wife was the illegitimate daughter of Madame de Genlis and the Duke of Orleans, Philippe Egalité. The story of the United Irishmen and of the supporters of the rebellion, Wolf Tone, Reynolds, Hamilton Rowan, Emmet, Sampson, Napper Tandy, and the rest of them, belongs to another history, and it is sufficient to say, that after the battle of Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy, where the insurgents were defeated, the

attempt of the French to rouse the country with the help of 900 troops of the line landed at Killala under General Humbert signally failed. The Irish people were not in favour of an insurrection which had been proclaimed by a few rebellious leaders, leagued with the enemies of England, who had already made a temporary truce in Europe by giving up Venice to the gripe of Austrian rule, and grinding the people of Italy under the heel of military despotism. The object of the attempts of Napoleon Bonaparte in Ireland was to compel England to maintain a large force in the country, for it was the interference of England abroad that he had most reason to fear. To the same purpose, the collection of a supposed "army of England" on the French coasts for the purpose of invading this country was a plan which had been suffered to become very extensively talked about. This shadowy army, and an equally shadowy fleet, was to keep the attention of our government concentrated on the protection of our own shores.

To add to the deception, Bonaparte paid a rapid visit of inspection to the French coast and the forces quartered there, at the time that he had already prepared an army at Toulon for the invasion of Egypt. This was in May, 1798, and on the 19th of that month, a succession of violent gales having driven the English blockading fleet, he sailed up the Mediterranean with a great fleet under Admiral Brueys, and a number of transports with 30,000 men, Generals Kleber and Menou being under his command. Having seized and plundered Malta through the weakness and treachery of the Knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, who had held it since the time of the Emperor Charles V., he left a garrison there, and thence sailed for Alexandria.

The military genius of Napoleon Bonaparte had not failed to appreciate the important and commanding position occupied by the famous city founded by the great Macedonian. Ancient Alexandria stood upon the mainland south of the present site, between the sea and Lake Mareotis. The modern city stands upon the inner isthmus of the Peninsula of Pharos and on the isthmus connecting it with the mainland. At the beginning of the present century it was a poor place with a Turkish quarter

for the most part poorly built and dirty, and a Frankish quarter with some good streets, handsome houses, and a large public square. The whole population scarcely exceeded 7000. But the wonderful capabilities of the city and its situation in relation to the Mediterranean and the Red Sea—in the route to India—could scarcely have failed to give it incontestable importance in the estimation of French politicians. In determining to attempt the conquest of Egypt, and, with that view, the seizure of Alexandria, Bonaparte was only practically adopting the conclusions that had been arrived at by many who had preceded him in France and other places. Sanuto, the Venetian, spoke of the effects on the trade in India and on the Mohammedan power by the subjection of Egypt to some nation on the border of the Mediterranean; and Count Daru declares that the communication between Hindostan and southern Europe by the Red Sea, or in other words the occupation of Egypt by a maritime power on the Mediterranean, is to be preferred to the possession of all the provinces between the Indus and the Ganges. Leibnitz too had strongly advised Louis XIV. to take Egypt for the purpose of destroying the maritime and commercial prosperity of the Dutch, which, he represented, depended chiefly on their trade with India.

Probably Napoleon Bonaparte's ships, with his army, would not have reached Alexandria had it not been for a thick haze which hung about the island of Candia and hid them from the British fleet, commanded by Lord Nelson, which was in that neighbourhood. In fact so great was the dread of the French troops lest the already famous English commander should be after them, that when on the 29th of June they landed without opposition at a spot about three miles from Alexandria, they were in such a hurry to get ashore that a large number of them were drowned.

The city was easily taken, though not without a contest, and some loss on both sides, and then Bonaparte issued a proclamation to the Egyptian people declaring that he came as the friend of the sultan to oppose the tyranny of the Memlooks, and that the French army had the greatest reverence for the Prophet and the Koran.

After the surrender of Alexandria, the French army moved towards Cairo in two divisions, one by way of the Nile, the other by the desert. They were to meet at Rahmanieh. It was a toilsome march for the troops, who had to traverse the burning sands, and many of the men died on the route. On the 21st of July, the force came within sight of the great Pyramids, and there the army of the Memlooks was drawn up ready to do battle at Embabeh, not far from Gizeh, between the Nile and the Pyramids. Pointing to the latter, Bonaparte addressed to his troops the famous, and rather bombastic speech: "Remember that from the height of these monuments forty centuries are looking down upon you."[1] The Memlook army was led by Ibrahim Bey and Murad Bey, and the fight was stubborn; the Arabs showing undaunted courage and great skill in the use of their weapons. It was afterwards declared that some of the Memlooks wielded their Damascus scimitars with such dexterity that in their rapid and fiery charges they actually cut through the bayonets of the French soldiers.[2] The pertinacity, numbers, and discipline of the French troops, however, gave them a complete victory. Ibrahim fled to the eastern part of the Delta, Murad with a company of his splendid horsemen retreated into the desert, and Bonaparte and his troops entered Cairo, where the victorious general summoned a divan, or assembly of the principal Turks and Arabs, and adopting the formal religious phrases of greeting and of assurance used by the Mohammedans, made them many promises that their rank and civil authority should be maintained.

But while Napoleon Bonaparte was engaged in the effort to establish his authority in this manner, Nelson had been seeking

[1] Songez que du haut de ces monuments quarantes siècles vous contemplent.

[2] There is nothing incredible in this, as the skill of the Saracens and the temper of their blades are matters of history. A more modern example is that of a Highlander, who was second dragoman to the British consular agent at Cairo, about forty years ago, and had been re-named Osman Effendi. An English traveller, who fancied he had bought a real Damascus blade, having paid a high price for it, showed it to Osman, who said it was only a piece of iron, and that it could be shattered by the very act of warding off a blow aimed with it. This was put to the test. The owner of the costly blade delivered such a blow as might have been given in battle, and Osman, slipping a little to one side, and drawing his arm gently inwards with a slight turn of the wrist, received the blow upon his scimitar, with the result that his opponent's sword fell to pieces at his feet. The incident of the feat performed by Saladin in Sir Walter Scott's "Talisman" illustrates the skill of the Memlooks in the use of the scimitar.

for the fleet of that French expedition, of which he had heard only a rumour. He possessed no ships suited for a rapid exploration of the Mediterranean, but he continued his search until he heard that the enemy had taken Malta. Before he could reach the island the French had left it, and he then led his fleet to the mouth of the Nile at a guess, found no French vessels there, sailed northward, and afterward to the south side of Candia, where he might have met the enemy but for the haze that hid them from his sight. He then ran across to Sicily, where he was obliged to take in water and provisions, but, without waiting to refit or repair, once more sailed for Egypt, and hearing that the French fleet had been seen near Candia crowded all sail for the mouths of the Nile.

Most of us have read the story of the battle of Aboukir; how Captain Hood signalized the presence of the enemy's ships in the bay; how Nelson ordered dinner to be served and afterwards gave the signal to form in line of battle; and how the tremendous engagement was won by the destruction or capture of the French fleet. The burning and explosion of the *Orient;* the efforts made to save the crew; the pathetic sight of the bodies of the Commodore Casa-Bianca and his brave son, a boy of ten years old, as they floated on a shattered mast after the blowing up of the ship, are incidents of that fearful engagement which have never been forgotten. The French Admiral Brueys perished, and there were more than 5000 men killed, and above 3000, including the wounded, were sent on shore. The British loss in killed and wounded was 895, only one captain (Westcott of the *Majestic*) having been killed. "Victory is not a name strong enough for such a scene," said Nelson; "it is a conquest."

The Arabs were wild with excitement. They lighted signal fires on the coast and on the hills. The French were in Egypt, but they were unable to leave it, and had only the stores and material of war which they had brought with them to depend upon. The sultan issued a manifesto protesting against the invasion of his territory in a time of peace, declared war against France, and began to prepare forces for attacking the French army in Cairo, where the people, not knowing what was expected

of them, broke into insurrection, and began to kill Frenchmen in the streets until they were suppressed with great slaughter by the troops.

The victory gained at the "Battle of the Nile," as the engagement at Aboukir was called, had the effect of stimulating the other European powers to form another coalition against France, who had broken the treaties which would have prevented an alliance against her.

Bonaparte had not been altogether idle, and it cannot be denied that he had introduced some better if more stringent laws, which his army was able to enforce. He had checked the irresponsible oppression of the former Memlook rulers, and had enabled some French savans, antiquarians, and Oriental scholars, who accompanied his army, to explore the tombs, temples, and monuments on the banks of the Nile above Cairo, and so to lay the foundation of the knowledge of Egyptian antiquities and ancient history which we now possess. Before these researches could be made, however, General Desaix had gone on a military expedition up the Nile, and had driven the remaining body of the Memlooks from Upper Egypt and beyond the cataracts at Assouan, thus leaving the ruins of the principal monuments to be safely examined by the artists and archæologists, who were there in the interests of learning.

Bonaparte himself had (in February, 1799) started from Cairo with an army of 10,000 men for the purpose of crossing the desert and making himself master of Syria.

Gaza and Jaffa fell before the French troops without much resistance, but when they reached the walls of Acre, which, though it was in a half-ruinous condition, was still regarded as the most important position, and the key of Syria on the coast, the enterprise took quite another complexion. Three able defenders were there to resist the attack of the French troops;—Pacha Djezzar, a truculent old tyrant who never for a moment consented to yield, especially as he was supported by Sir Sidney Smith, the able British admiral (who kept two ships of the line close inshore and landed a company of sailors and marines), and another excellent

ally already employed by the pacha,—Colonel Phillippeaux, a Royalist *émigré* who had been a schoolfellow of Bonaparte, and was now a clever military engineer. For sixty days Bonaparte tried to force the fortress by a series of assaults in which he lost about 3000 men, and at last was compelled to abandon the siege and to retreat to Cairo, where, after a march during which numbers of men died and were left to the vultures and cormorants of the deserts, he arrived on the 14th of July, to be immediately called to the coast where a Turkish army of 18,000 men had landed at Aboukir. There a tremendous battle was fought, in which the Turks, though they showed the utmost vigour and courage, were no match for the compact regiments and steady discipline of the French. The victory was decisive. About 10,000 of the Turkish force perished on that field or in the effort to reach their ships. Bonaparte then began to prepare for a departure, it might almost be called an escape, from Egypt. He could effect little there unaided by fresh troops, and the intelligence that he received of the defeat of other French generals in Europe, where the whole Continent appeared to be in arms, and of the imminent downfall of the government of the Directory in Paris, confirmed him in a determination to return and make an effort to attain the position of dictator by the road of military achievement. On the 23d of August a small frigate in the harbour of Alexandria was fitted for sea, and Bonaparte, with his confidential officers, Murat, Berthier, Lannes, and Marmont, and some of the learned explorers who took with them the results of their researches in Egyptian antiquities, embarked unnoticed, and at once set sail for France, where his companions, aided by Talleyrand and the Abbe Sièyes, soon helped him to the accomplishment of his desires by the dissolution of the government, and his appointment as first consul of a new constitution. The army left in Egypt had been reduced to 20,000 men under Generals Kleber and Menou, who were engaged in a conflict the issue of which was to a great extent determined by the continued operation of the English squadron under the command of Sir Sidney Smith. In January, 1800, Kleber, compelled to abandon a fortress at El Arish, and re-

treating from a Turkish army, agreed that the French troops should leave Egypt if they were allowed to depart without further hostilities; but the English government refused to give authority to the admiral to conclude any such arrangement, by which a large force would be set at liberty to swell the ranks of Bonaparte's army in Italy. Therefore the fighting in Egypt went on for two months longer, when Kleber, who had defeated the Turks, was obliged to march his men to Cairo, where the Arabs in insurrection were murdering the French or driving them into the citadel. A horrible massacre ensued, when the French army entered the city and suppressed the insurgents; but some weeks after, Kleber, who was endeavouring to restore something like order, was stabbed by a young man from Aleppo while walking on the terrace of his own house. The command then devolved upon General Menou, a man whose incapacity had been shown by his inability to suppress the rising in Paris against the Convention, which Bonaparte was afterwards called upon to protect.

The French army was, however, able to hold its own for some time, and five ships of war and some transports contrived to escape the British squadron, and run into the mouth of the Nile, where they landed considerable reinforcements with artillery and ammunition.

In January, 1801, the fleet, under Admiral Lord Keith, conveyed a small but effective British army to the Bay of Marmorice, on the coast of Karamania, one of the finest harbours in the world. This force was under the command of the veteran general Sir Ralph Abercromby, and consisted of about 15,300 men, of whom probably only about 12,000 were effective, but these were excellently trained, as they needed to be, since they had to reckon not only with the French army at Alexandria, under Generals Friant and Lanusse, but with the troops commanded by General Menou at Cairo. While the British army was in Marmorice Bay a sloop of war arrived in the harbour, having captured a French brig with a general officer on board, and 5000 stand of arms intended for the French troops in Egypt. Two more regiments of dismounted cavalry also joined the British forces, who were, in fact, waiting

for horses which had been promised from Constantinople. It was afterwards said that 400 or 500 good horses had been purchased by Lord Elgin, our ambassador at Constantinople, but that while on the way they had been changed by the various pashas, with the connivance of the drivers who brought them through Asia Minor and Syria. The result was that there were only a number of wretched and almost useless ponies or miserable hacks, which were either shot because they were useless, or sold at four or five shillings a head. There were but 470 cavalry men in the British force, and of these only a few were mounted on sorry Turkish beasts, purchased at Marmorice. The officers therefore asked permission to serve with their corps as infantry or with the artillery.

It was not till the 23d of February that our fleet left the Bay of Marmorice for that of Aboukir, where it came to anchor on the 2d of March, riding exactly where Nelson had fought the battle of the Nile. It was four days before the weather was such as to permit any operations being undertaken with boats, but directly the moment came, on the afternoon of the 7th, the general and Sir Sidney Smith reconnoitred the coast in a boat, and chose the best place for landing. On the following morning some gun-boats and launches went first to clear the beach, and 5500 of our soldiers followed in the boats, sitting close between the seats with unloaded muskets. The boats were rowed in regular order, but swiftly. Though they were fired at by fifteen guns from the opposite hill, and by the artillery from Aboukir Castle, the soldiers sat still. Many were wounded and several were killed, but they did not stir. Some boats sank, some turned to rescue the drowning men, but the main flotilla went steadily on. The soldiers leaped out upon the shore, some loading their pieces as they formed in line; the rest pushed on without stopping for anything. Assailed by a violent charge and by a rapid fire of musketry, they forced the French to retreat, while only 2000 of our men had landed. Every step was contested and carried; the British struggling up the sand-hills that rose above the beach, some in line with charged bayonets, others on their hands and knees; but up they went

and carried the ridges, the French retreating in disorder, some towards Alexandria, the rest to Aboukir, and leaving all their field-pieces behind them.

The British afterwards advanced about three miles towards Alexandria, leaving a small party near the sand-hills to reduce the fort of Aboukir, where the French garrison had refused to surrender. On the 9th and 10th of March the progress of the main army continued through heavy sand, the sailors dragging the field artillery with great difficulty, but with unabated activity and courage.

The French outposts were taken, along with several pieces of artillery. From the last one the enemy fled so precipitately that they left their signal-flags and their colours flying. These were struck and the English colours planted in their places. On marching about a mile beyond this post our men saw the French army drawn up along a ridge of sand-hills that reached from the sea to a small lake, but the whole force retreated without coming to an action, and encamped about three miles from the British front, where our men had several skirmishes with the French advanced guard.

The French position was in front of an old Roman camp with a tower (the tower of Mandura), and their Generals, Friant and Lanusse, believed they would there be able to resist our attack, as they were strong in cavalry, and in any event it would be easy for them to retire within the walls of Alexandria. Our army marched in two lines to the left, with the object of turning the right flank of the enemy. The French made an impetuous onslaught from the heights on the head of both our lines, but they were repulsed, and our first line, with the utmost quickness and precision, formed two lines to the front of the march and continued to advance, while the second line turned the right of the French army and drove it from its position. The British forced their way onward, and the conflict was a desperate one. The French general, Lanusse, had his horse shot under him. Abercromby was surrounded by French cavalry, and would have been cut down but for the gallantry of the 90th Regiment, who ran forward to receive the

charge of the French on their bayonets, and put them to flight with great loss. At first the British commander-in-chief intended to attack the French on the fortified heights to which they had retreated, and our men were eager to continue the battle, but these heights, which formed the principal defence of the city of Alexandria, would have been difficult to hold, for they were, it was believed, commanded by the guns of the fort, and could only have been taken at a great sacrifice of life. Our army, therefore, took up the position from which the enemy had been driven, with their right to the sea, and their left to the canal of Alexandria and Lake Mareotis, about four miles from Alexandria, so that they cut off all communication with the city except by way of the desert.

Whatever may have been the claims of the French to the introduction of better laws and a more regular government, their army in Egypt had adopted the plan pursued by them in other parts of the world, and with greater impunity. They had pursued the simple plan of taking whatever provisions they could lay their hands on, without recompensing the unfortunate Arab farmers and peasants, and the consequence was, that though they had collected considerable stores in their magazines, they began to find very little provender anywhere else. The Arabs had learned, at the alarm of the approach of the French troops, to drive off their sheep and cattle to places inaccessible to the raids of the soldiers, and to hide their fowls, vegetables, fruit, and grain as best they could in a country where there was no lack of places for concealment. Sir Ralph Abercromby and his generals adopted a different course, and were soon able to establish the confidence of the Arabs and the Egyptian fellahs. Mr. Baldwin, who had for some years been British consul-general in Egypt, and possessed knowledge not only of the localities, but of the peculiarities of the population, was attached to the staff of the commander-in-chief, and at once made arrangements with the Arab farmers and others, who engaged to bring cattle, horses, and provisions to the British camp. The discipline of our men was so good that these engagements were observed on both sides. The orders of the day strictly forbade either officers or men to take anything whatever

without paying the fair price for it, and a general market was held in the camp from seven in the morning till three in the afternoon, no dealing being permitted excepting within those hours. The result was, the appearance of the Arabs with various kinds of provisions—sheep, goats, eggs, fowls, and everything that the country afforded. They had been so ill-treated for the time during which the French army had occupied Egypt that they were glad to open a friendly intercourse with those who appeared likely to put an end to the exactions from which they had suffered.

In less than a week Fort Aboukir surrendered, and the officers and soldiers of the French garrison were made prisoners and sent on board our fleet, each of them being allowed to carry with him his own private property. It was time for General Menou at Cairo to take action against those British troops, of which he had spoken contemptuously, declaring that Friant and Lanusse would drive them into the sea. He now saw that he must collect his forces, and march from Cairo to relieve these generals at Alexandria.

It was on the morning of the 20th of March that the soldiers in the English camp stood gazing with curiosity on a long line of camels, horses, and cattle moving at a great distance on the other side of Lake Mareotis, towards Alexandria. The mist which hung upon the lake made the objects of that strange procession dim, distorted, gigantic, but it was generally understood that it was the train of Menou's relieving army, and that there would soon be more fighting. The conclusion was quickly verified. Menou's reinforcement consisted of 9000 men from Cairo, and he immediately prepared to attack the British army before daylight the next morning. Abercromby suspected this, and was prepared for it. Our men were to be in readiness, and to lie down in their blankets and with their accoutrements on, in the position which they were to occupy in case of an assault in the dark. Their muskets were well flinted, and each man had sixty rounds of ball-cartridge. General officers were warned not to throw away their fire during the darkness, but to use the bayonet as much as possible. They were forbidden to follow the enemy or quit their

positions, and the greatest silence, order, and regularity were to be observed. An hour before daylight, on the 21st, while all was still, the report of a musket was heard at the extremity of the British left, then the report of a cannon, scattered musketry shots, and the boom of big guns. The French were upon us, commencing with a false attack on the left, by which Menou hoped to throw us into confusion, and immediately make a general attack. But it became a general engagement. Our men were ready, and, instead of making a rout, the French found themselves confronted with the bayonet, and with deadly effect. The fighting was more terrible than any that the army of Bonaparte had yet experienced; they expected to surprise us, and were boldly met at all points, even amidst the darkness and the heavy pall of smoke that hung upon the scene, and when at last the day dawned and the French cavalry broke through and got to the rear of some of our infantry, the 42nd Highlanders and the 28th Regiment, aided by the flank companies of the 40th, fought at the same time in front, flank, and rear, and kept their ground, firing such volleys that the horsemen who had ridden in, lay stretched upon the field, only a few escaping. The French cavalry was destroyed, and the corps of "Invincibles," a part of the former conquering "army of Italy," was shattered and almost annihilated. The French prisoners afterwards confessed that the battles they had fought with the Austrians in Italy were not to be compared to this with the English in Egypt. The carnage was horrible; the field was covered with the wounded and the dead. "I never saw a field so strewed with dead," said General Moore, who was himself severely wounded. "Few more severe actions have ever been fought, considering the number engaged on both sides," said General Hutchinson. The French generals Lanusse and Rodie died of their wounds; General Roize, commanding the French cavalry, was killed, with nearly all his followers. Above 1700 French were found dead, and above 1000 of these were afterwards buried by the English on the ground where they had fallen. The British killed and wounded numbered 1400; the French probably twice as many. Several of our officers were severely injured, but the greatest calamity was

that the brave old commander-in-chief, Sir Ralph Abercromby, received a wound which proved fatal; though he remained on the field till the battle was won, along with General Moore, Brigadier-general Oakes, the admiral Sir Sidney Smith (who, with a number of naval officers, was doing duty on shore amidst the hottest fire), Brigadier-general Hope, and Colonel Paget, all of whom were also wounded. Sir Ralph nearly at the end of the action had been surrounded by a party of French horse. He was brave as a lion, and a general of extraordinary sagacity, but he was under the great disadvantage of being very short-sighted, and that may have been the reason of his getting to such close quarters with a mere handful of men. The French officer attacked him with the sabre, but the aged general, short-sighted as he was, received the sabre under his left arm, and wrested it from his antagonist. A French hussar then rode up to cut him down, but a Highland soldier, who saw what was about to happen, and having no bullet left, put his ramrod into his musket, and with it shot the hussar. The general had been slightly wounded on the head during this mêlée, and he afterwards received a shot in the thigh. He continued on the field, however, walking about, and paying no attention to his wounds until the end of the action, and then his companions saw the blood trickling down his clothes, and he himself became faint. He was placed in a hammock, carried off the field amidst the grief of the soldiers, and taken on board Lord Keith's flag-ship, where he died on the evening of the 28th.

The command of the army was committed to General (afterwards Lord) Hutchinson, but the victories already gained had so altered the condition of affairs that no great battle was imminent. Our forces received an accession of 3000 men who arrived from England, the fellahs continued to take ample provisions for the supply of the British camp, the French at Aboukir surrendered, the capitan pachas' fleet anchored there, and landed 5000 or 6000 Turkish soldiers; the remaining Memlooks began to reappear in Upper Egypt, and the grand vizier set about collecting a force to proceed, by way of the desert, to Cairo, which was still held by a considerable part of the French forces. Hutchinson prepared to go

thither also by means of a flotilla, which would convey a large number of troops up the Nile. Some more French forts were taken, and General Menou with his army retired into Alexandria. It was then that a scheme was talked about for separating Alexandria and the French army that occupied it from the rest of Egypt, by cutting through the great embankments which prevented the waters of the sea from flowing into the dry bed of the lake Mareotis. It was afterwards said that the suggestion came from the French themselves, for that a letter was found in the pocket of General Roize, who was killed in the action of the 21st—a letter from General Menou, in which some fear was expressed that the British might cut the embankment. Whether this was so or not, the matter was discussed, and the plan was so urged upon General Hutchinson that, in spite of some strategic objections and of much uncertainty as to the amount of damage that might be inflicted by flooding the country, it was put in execution. Four cuts were made, each six yards in breadth and ten yards distant from each other, and an immense rush of water broke through, the moment the protecting fascines were removed, and continued to flow for many days with considerable force.

Leaving General Coote with 6500 men before Alexandria, Hutchinson embarked the rest of his forces in the flotilla which was ready to convey them to Cairo, and capturing convoys of provisions and demolishing some of the works on the banks of the river, attacked and carried a French post at Ramanieh, fortified with intrenchments and batteries and defended by 4000 men. He then continued the voyage towards Cairo; but the Turkish army of the grand vizier had already reached the city, from which the French troops, to the number of 5000, had sallied to attack them. It would seem as though the French already regarded capitulation as inevitable, for though they had twenty-four pieces of artillery, and their troops were well disciplined, and undoubtedly brave under ordinary conditions of warfare, they were repulsed by the irregular Turkish forces. When the British commander-in-chief arrived, and the city was invested, General Belliard, the commander, capitulated, and 13,000 French marched

out of Cairo, and left behind them above 300 heavy cannon and about 45 tons of gunpowder. Resistance would have been futile, for already General Baird had sailed from Bombay with 2800 British troops, 2000 sepoys, and 450 of the artillery of the East India Company. He was at Jeddah on the Red Sea, and had there been joined by an English division of light horse and artillery which had been sent round by the Cape of Good Hope. This prompt concentration of forces in Egypt from Europe, Asia, and Africa was regarded as a brilliant achievement, and raised the reputation of British military efficiency, at which Bonaparte and his generals had long affected to sneer.

The reinforcements from India and the Cape had no occasion to take part in the war, for before the forces had united at Cairo, Menou had seen the hopelessness of his position, and had capitulated at Alexandria, where a bombardment had commenced from the ships in the harbour and the batteries on land. On the 2d of September his troops yielded on the same conditions as were granted to Belliard, namely that they should be sent to their own country without any impeachment of their honour as soldiers. Thus ended that French occupation of Egypt which gave occasion for English intervention, and may be said to have been the commencement of the important relations to Turkish and Egyptian affairs which have ever since been maintained by this country.

There can be little doubt that Bonaparte was deeply mortified by the defeat of his ambition to hold the road to India, by the subjugation of Egypt and Syria, with a view to the ultimate acquisition of empire in the East. It was rumoured that after his defeat by Sir Sidney Smith at Acre he had bitterly declared that the English naval commander had interfered with his destiny; but now he had no longer a military footing in either Syria or Egypt, and though he said little in public his consternation and disappointment could not be altogether concealed. In his memoirs he declared that a French army would have reached the Indies in the winter of 1801–1802 had not the command of the army devolved, in consequence of the murder of Kleber, on a man who, although

abounding in courage, talents for business, and good-will, was of a disposition wholly unfit for any military command.

After Bonaparte had been made first consul, and when his attempt to subdue the negroes of St. Domingo in 1802 had resulted in the loss by sickness of the successive armies which he sent to that deadly island, he still turned his eyes towards Egypt and Syria, and longed to be master of the approaches to Hindostan. He had previously sent out as an agent to the Levant a Corsican (Colonel Sebastiani), a man of singular ability and address; but the peace of Amiens was coming to an end, and he soon found it necessary to give his whole attention to the conflict which threatened to become a life-and-death struggle.

Still the exigencies of the war in Europe made it necessary for our government to keep a sharp look-out upon Egypt, for though Napoleon had not, perhaps, any immediate expectation of again invading it, he pursued his intention of making use of the intriguing genius of Sebastiani, his agent, for the purpose of inciting the Turks to continued hostilities with Russia, in order that the young czar might be obliged to maintain so large a force on the lower Danube, that he would be unable to send an army to aid his allies against France. Selim the Third, the Sultan of Turkey, who had succeeded to the caliphate in 1789, was an enlightened and ambitious ruler, who formed the idea of re-establishing the Turkish Empire, but in his war with the allied Russians and Austrians he had been defeated. In 1792 he had lost the Crimea to Russia, and though the English restored Egypt to the Porte, after delivering it from the army of Bonaparte, he had to purchase peace with Russia by conceding fresh territories to the czar. It was by the influence of the French over Selim that the war with Russia was renewed, and our diplomatists being unable to counteract the intrigues against us and our allies, a small naval force was sent from England to the Dardanelles in 1806. Nothing of importance could be effected, however, except the breach of the rule laid down by ancient treaties with the Porte that no ships of war with their guns on board were allowed to pass the Straits of the Dardanelles, or the Straits of the Bosphorus.

The English and Russian ambassadors were taken from Constantinople by our ships, and a larger, but still insufficient, force was then sent early in the following year.

A Turkish squadron was defeated by Sir Sidney Smith, but as prompt advantage was not taken of this success by Admiral Sir John Duckworth, who delayed pushing on to Constantinople, little was gained by it. The city was put in a complete state of defence, and after the admiral had menaced it, he returned through the Straits, left a Russian squadron to blockade the Dardanelles, and hastened down to the mouths of the Nile. But Egypt had been in a state of civil war ever since the British troops had left it after the defeat of the army of Bonaparte. To hold possession of the country would have required a very considerable force, and we had no troops to spare, for the war in Europe was assuming threatening proportions. The only effect of sending an English army to Egypt or to Constantinople would have been to relieve Russia, and it was quite certain that the French could not keep or even take possession of Egypt while a British fleet maintained our superiority at sea. The Sultan Selim was himself insecure upon the throne, and the new pasha of Egypt, Mehemet or Mohammed Ali, was already displaying a military ability which would have been sufficient to oppose a greater obstacle to our regaining possession of the country than our government was at that time disposed to overcome.

The subsequent war in Europe, the ultimate victories gained over the French, the downfall of the Emperor Napoleon, and the final triumph of the allied armies by the successes of Wellington, entirely changed the aspect of affairs, and left Egypt to emerge from her own difficulties as best she could, after the deposition of Selim by the Janissaries at Constantinople, his assassination by his nephew Mustapha, whom they had placed on the throne, the deposition and death of Mustapha himself, and the accession, in 1808, of Mahmoud II., under whom the power of the Turkish Empire continued to diminish.

There are few names in modern history which have been so generally known and remembered as that of Mehemet or (more

properly) Mohammed Ali, and the mere fact that he occupied such a space in the history of the world, and caused so much commotion not only in Turkey but in Europe, would suffice to show that he was, at anyrate, no common man. When he became viceroy of Egypt, he proved that he was no mere vulgar usurper. In spite of his want of education, and that cruel covetousness which seems to have belonged alike to the Turks and their Memlooks or mercenaries, he was an able ruler, and though he almost crushed the people of Egypt under a burden of taxation, he gave them more in exchange than they had ever obtained from their Turkish despots, since he once more made Egypt a nation, and practically succeeded in liberating it from the Ottoman rule, though he failed in rendering it absolutely independent. Perhaps Mohammed Ali was the latest of the pashas around whom there seemed to European eyes to be an atmosphere of romance. There was, undoubtedly, something of the old barbaric splendour and semi-savage but heroic personality about him, which even the familiar revelations made by travellers or ambassadors who were admitted to visit the crafty, resolute, and unscrupulous pasha did not altogether dissipate. There was much that was commonplace, but little that was mean in his character—even his exactions were on such a scale that they were not sordid, and the sense of his fierceness and cruelties was not seldom relieved by generous and even kindly inclinations. In craft and cunning he was more than a match even for Russian diplomatists, and was not to be deceived by the subtlety of Turkish intrigue. He professed, doubtless sincerely, great admiration for the French, and not without reason, for, whatever may have been the oppressive exactions of the army of Bonaparte, the regulations which had been introduced under French authority had aided to accustom the people to a more systematic and centralized form of government. The advantages that had been derived from the scientific and mechanical inventions—the improved mode of living, the social observances, the refinement and good-fellowship introduced by the French civilians and maintained by those who still dwelt in Alexandria or in Cairo—were of inestimable importance to a ruler who hoped

not only to be recognized as independent sovereign of Egypt, but to be assisted in his ambition by an alliance with the great nation. France, though it had but recently lost its vast military prestige and the misleading splendour of an empire maintained both abroad and at home by the sword, was yet potent in the councils of Europe, and had not ceased to hold the dominion which had been gained over the Arab tribes in Algeria.

The wily viceroy very soon learned that he might depend on the assurances of England. He was acute enough to discover that the sturdy independent courage and serene determination which he had observed in our naval officers, and the agents who waited on him from our government, were types of national trustworthiness, and that though we refused to support his inordinate claims, we also refused to recede from the terms which were demanded from Turkey on his behalf. He soon discovered that English interposition was intended to imply a determined resistance to the professed policy of the French, who allowed him to suppose that he should be made the independent sovereign of Egypt, Syria, Nubia, Kordofan, and the Hejaz. Perhaps he never really believed that France would or could give him directly substantial aid to accomplish such a design. At all events he soon discovered that England would not listen to the breach of her engagements to Turkey; nor permit a viceroy to claim irresponsible sovereignty, on the pretext that he was entitled to reign over the territories which he had conquered and added to the possessions of his titular master.

Of course, in estimating the character and the demands of Mohammed Ali, it is necessary to consider the past history and the peculiar political and social condition of Egypt, almost unchanged since the rule of the Arab dynasties. At the same time it is to be noted that the circumstances amidst which the pasha had risen from comparative obscurity to a position in which he could defy the power and authority of the sultan, were as strange and romantic as those that had attended the rise of Saladin and of other rulers whose names still live in history.

Mohammed Ali, who was born in 1769 at Cavalla, a small seaport town or village in Macedonia, was the son of a retail

shopkeeper who dealt in tobacco. The father, who died while Mohammed was quite a boy, may have been a well-known personage; but, at anyrate, the governor of the place took the lad under his protection, and finding him active and precocious, kept him among his followers that he might receive the usual instruction in horsemanship and the use of arms, which was regarded as the best education for anyone who desired to rise to distinction in those tumultuous times, when the whole country under Turkish rule was alternately under the influence of oppression and insurrection. As Mohammed did not learn to read till he was above forty years of age, it may be believed that his "natural abilities" were considerable, and to judge from later development he must have possessed that kind of sagacity which consists of a wily aptitude for taking unscrupulous advantage of every circumstance that enabled him to attain wealth or power, and must also have been vigilant to seize opportunities which could only be turned to account by energy and daring.

Like most men of his stamp Mohammed Ali, even after he had attained his highest distinction as Viceroy of Egypt, and "had no master," as he asserted—in spite of his being called the vassal of the sultan—was inclined to boast occasionally of his personal achievements, and some remarks he made to a British consul-general will serve to illustrate his own view of his early characteristics.

The consul-general had just presented his credentials, and the viceroy, who graciously returned them to the dragoman without opening them, began to speak of the prudence and sound understanding of a previous representative of England, who never opposed his will or contradicted his opinions; which, he observed, presented no difficulty, since they were founded in reason and justice. "But," added the pasha, "I will tell you a story: I was born in a village in Macedonia, and my father had, beside me, ten children who are all dead; but while they were living not one of them ever contradicted me. Although I left my native mountains before I attained to manhood, the principal people in the place never took any step in the business of the commune without

previously inquiring what was my pleasure. I came to this country an obscure adventurer, and yet when I was but a bimbashi (captain) it happened one day that the commissary had to give each of the bimbashis a tent. They were all my seniors, and naturally pretended to a preference over me, but the officer said:—'Stand you all by; this youth, Mohammed Ali, shall be served first,' and I *was* served first; and I advanced step by step as it pleased God to ordain; and now, here I am (rising a little from his seat and looking out of the window, which was at his elbow, and commanded a view of the Lake Mareotis)—and now here I am. I never had a master!"—glancing his eye at the imperial firman.[1]

There is a simplicity, almost a commonplace quality, about this which makes us wonder how the man could have risen to such a height of authority, and to such a comparatively enlightened policy, as that which he afterwards displayed. He appears to have strangely united the calculating prudence of the trader, with the occasional impetuosity and the frequent ferocity of the bimbashi, and so to have developed both qualifications that they inspired respect or terror, according to the conditions under which they were exercised.

It is possible that the passage of autobiography may have lost something of dignity by translation, for at this time the Pasha of Egypt spoke neither French nor English. It is needless to say also that he had not yet experienced the results of European intervention, for the conversation took place in the year 1826, a few months before the battle of Navarino taught him that it would still be wise to moderate his language, so far as England was concerned.

The governor of Cavalla, in Macedonia, who was Mohammed's first patron, placed him in an office eminently calculated to develop those talents which he afterwards exercised on a vast scale. That is to say, he procured for him an appointment as a subordinate collector of taxes, the duties of which he performed with such resolution that the lives of the peasantry over whom his authority

[1] James Augustus St. John, *Egypt and Mohammed Ali*, 1834.

extended were made precarious. His extraordinary readiness of resource soon gained him a higher position. The people of a village who had been subjected to imposts which they thought were no longer to be borne without resistance, rose in rebellion and refused payment. The governor was so surprised that he could not quite determine what steps to take, and intrusted the affair to the young collector, who hastily summoned a few armed followers, to whom he represented that he was intrusted with a secret commission. Having arrived at the village he entered a mosque followed by his retainers, summoned several of the chief men of the place to meet him there, and when he once got them inside, ordered that they should be bound hand and foot, and immediately dragged them off to Cavalla without regard to the inhabitants of the village, who would have followed him but for his threat that if they attempted a rescue he would put his prisoners to death on the instant.

Such a determined and successful vindication of the authority of the taxing powers gained for him almost immediate promotion, and as he filled up the intervals of military duty by following his father's business as a tobacco dealer, an avocation the profits of which were doubtless considerably increased by the opportunities afforded him for obtaining customers, he became a person of some consideration. The invasion of Egypt by the French gave a new opening for him to push his fortune, and his ability as an officer enabled him to obtain the command, as bimbashi, of a contingent of three hundred men, raised at Cavalla as a regular troop for active service in Egypt.

Of course his first employment in Egypt was against the French and on the side of the Memlooks, to oppose whom, however, he was soon afterwards to be in arms. After the departure of the French army from Egypt, Lord Hutchinson used all his influence in order to obtain a renewal of good-will towards the Memlook beys, who had so gallantly fought to preserve Egypt from occupation by a foreign army. It was true that Ibrahim and Mourad had formerly, by their contentions, raised hostilities which it had become necessary for the sultan to suppress by sending the

pasha with a considerable armed force to Cairo and even to Upper Egypt; but the plague had carried off the pasha and had made ravages among the Egyptian population; while the authority of the Porte was not maintained so decisively as to prevent the return of the two insurgent chiefs from exile. Then came the French invasion, and these two men who had been foremost in opposing the demands of the sultan, were ready to unite for the defence of the country against a foreign foe. The Memlook beys had done good service and had suffered considerable losses, and the English general was anxious that their safety should be secured and their reasonable rights and privileges restored. Mourad was dead, and Ibrahim, now an old man, was the chief, his lieutenant being a very brave and accomplished officer named Osman Tambourji.

The terms asked on their behalf by Lord Hutchinson were that they should be reinstated as governors of provinces, on condition that they paid an annual tribute to the sultan and recognized the right of the pasha to exercise the power belonging to him as viceroy, with a sufficient body of troops under his command. These proposals appeared to receive the concurrence of the grand vizier. Ibrahim was restored to the dignity of governor of Cairo, and with his principal officers was invited by the Turkish capitan pasha to pay a visit to his camp of Aboukir. They accepted this courtesy and were received with the greatest attention, feasts and various amusements being provided for their entertainment. These tokens of friendship without any apparent object, aroused some slight suspicions among the beys, who began to talk of bringing their visit to an end, and actually hinted to the British general that the extreme hospitality of the pasha was by no means reassuring. Lord Hutchinson, who was preparing to leave the country, allayed their anxieties by the declaration that the pasha's intentions were friendly and his demonstrations genuine, and they soon afterwards took their leave without anything of a sinister nature having occurred.

After some time had elapsed they accepted a second invitation to Aboukir, where a superb entertainment was to be followed by

a pleasant excursion on board some luxuriously appointed pleasure-boats, in which they were to be accompanied by the pasha, who was unremitting in his courtesies and attentions. The pleasure-boats had left the shore at some distance when a cutter with sails set was seen in their wake and signalling. The pasha, perceiving it, intimated to his guests that it was probably a boat with intelligence or despatches from Constantinople, and asked permission to inquire what was the message which it conveyed. The cutter drew alongside, papers were handed to the pasha, who, in order to examine them, stepped into the cutter which immediately fell away, leaving the pleasure-boats to continue their trip to Aboukir Bay. The guests found that they were betrayed. They were within easy range of some ships of war ready for action and with their decks full of soldiers, who immediately opened fire with their muskets upon the Memlooks, while the guns of the vessels were also brought to bear upon them. Very few escaped from the sinking vessels, and those who were not killed were made prisoners and compelled to solemnly swear that they would not appeal to the English.

The embarkation of Lord Hutchinson and the British troops could not be delayed for the purpose of punishing the treachery of the Turks; but indignant that he had been tricked into giving an assurance of safety to the beys, the general and his officers sent a stern protest to the pasha and compelled him to liberate the prisoners, and to order that the bodies of the slaughtered Memlooks should be interred with military honours.

This was one of the last acts of the pasha before he left Cairo, having appointed as governor of Cairo his principal slave, Mohammed Khosrew or Kusrouf, a Georgian, who was ready to devote all his energies to the extermination of the remaining Memlooks, who had again fled to Upper Egypt, refusing his invitation to remain at Cairo. As they would neither submit nor negotiate, a large force was equipped and sent against them under Yousef Bey, Mohammed Ali being second in command. At a battle fought near Damanhour this army was utterly defeated by the Memlooks, and but for their jealousy of each other and consequent delays the

conquerors might have marched on Cairo. As it was, the fugitive Turks had time to rally and the viceroy was able to place the city in a condition of defence.

The real significance of this defeat of the Turks may possibly be guessed at from the fact that Yousef on his return declared that his coadjutor Mohammed Ali had played the part either of traitor or of coward, an accusation which the pasha was by no means unwilling to entertain since he had already begun to look with uneasiness upon the movements of the ambitious Roumelian.

Here at all events was a charge which warranted strong measures, and the pasha thought the readiest way to rid himself of Mohammed Ali would be to disgrace him by ordering him to quit the country and his command. That was a mistake of which the cunning Cavalliot at once took advantage. He returned for answer that the pay of the troops under his command was considerably in arrear, and demanded that before he obeyed further orders the money should be sent. This would have been inconvenient, and another message was despatched commanding Mohammed to present himself at night before the governor. Such a proposal was too suggestive of sinister intentions, and was one not likely to commend itself to a person who had already had some experience of Turkish treachery; he therefore replied that he would appear in Cairo, not at night, but in broad daylight and in the midst of his soldiers. There was little ambiguity in such a retort, and Kusrouf becoming alarmed determined to make a counter demonstration by calling in Taher Pasha, the commander of other Albanian guards, who were admitted to the capital. The pasha supposed that by thus giving an opportunity for intrigues and contentions between the two leaders he would be able to suppress both; but unfortunately for him he had not calculated that the soldiers who were clamouring for their pay were ready to support the measures taken by either chieftain for the purpose of extorting it. In a very short time the citadel was taken, the palace attacked, and the governor, his family, and his retainers were driven from Cairo, where Taher assumed the viceregal office, which he exercised for about three weeks in a manner so oppressive

and tyrannical that the Memlooks, aided by Mohammed Ali, regained their authority.

It need scarcely be said that Mohammed Ali did not regard with complacency the restitution of the Memlook power, except as the occasion for paving his own way to the pashalik, and he soon took advantage of an opportunity for setting the beys quarrelling with each other; when he at once pretended to the position of a preserver of law and order, and, in the name of the popular interest and the professed interest of the sultan, drove the fiery old Ibrahim Bardissy from the capital and reinstated the exiled pasha, until he could ensure fulfilment of his own ambitious projects. The governor, while affecting to regard his assumptions with indifference, did not fail to propitiate him, and, by way of conciliation, caused him to be appointed Pasha of Djidda and of the port of Mekka. Kusrouf sent to invite Mohammed Ali to the citadel that he might there be invested with the insignia of his high office, but the Cavalliot fox was not to be caught. He was an adept in Oriental stratagems, and reflected that "he who enters the hyæna's den seldom comes out alive." He insisted that the ceremony should be a private one, and should be performed at the house of one of his own friends. He took his new honours quietly and accepted the insignia with a bearing of humility. "The tiger is most dangerous when he crouches." The official days of Kusrouf were numbered—the Albanian and Roumanian soldiers again demanded their pay, talked sedition, and threatened revolt and insurrection. Mohammed Ali, who had been their commander and was still their chief, was the only person who could still the tempest, and the inhabitants of Cairo, tired of the extortions of the pasha and his subordinate governor, were ready to join the soldiers in their cry. Affairs soon reached a crisis. Mohammed Ali was implored by those to whom he had given the hint, to take upon himself the duties of the viceroyalty that he might save Egypt from rebellion and bloodshed. The troops demanded it—the population endorsed the entreaty, and, with some show of surprise and reluctance, Mohammed Ali yielded, and was proclaimed pasha, the representative of the sultan in Egypt. The deposed Kusrouf

made some efforts to oppose this usurpation, and even invited the Memlooks whom he had endeavoured to destroy to become his allies; but while he was engaged in these attempts he received orders from Constantinople, through the capitan pasha, to place the citadel in the hands of Mohammed Ali, and to present himself in person at the head-quarters of the capitan on the sea-coast. He obeyed, and was appointed to another office in a distant part of the Turkish Empire. He had failed, and it was necessary to have a strong and able representative of the sultan at Cairo. The result of the insurrection was accepted by the sultan, and Mohammed Ali was duly appointed Pasha of Egypt by the Sublime Porte.[1]

This appointment was, of course, the signal for the remaining Memlooks to gather their forces together in opposition. They were still sufficiently powerful to give the new pasha great uneasiness, but he kept a wary eye upon their movements, and determined to defeat their plans by the mingled cunning and resolution which had already achieved so much for his fortunes. He must, if possible, inflict upon them a blow from which they would not soon recover, and it must, if possible, fall upon them in Cairo itself, and at the moment that they felt secure in pride and power. His efforts were directed to bringing their animosity to a practical issue as soon as possible, for until he had suppressed them he would be unable to extend operations for the establishment of his authority. If they could be brought to enter Cairo with the avowed object of causing a riot and attacking him he would be ready for them, and to stimulate them to action he took an opportunity to offend, or to have it represented that he wished to offend, one of their number, who, either in anger or for a bribe, stirred up the rest to resent the injury. They agreed among themselves to make an attack on the pasha during the evening of the celebration of the festival of the opening of the Nile, that is the cutting of the earth embankment of the canal when the Nile

[1] The Ottoman or Osman Government (Ottoman being derived from Osman or Othman, the founder of the Turkish Empire) is called the "Sublime Porte," from the French translation of *Bab Ali*, the high, or exalted, or supreme gate—the gate of the palace at which justice was administered. In an imperial sense, the High Court or Supreme Court of Justice.

has reached its height, in order to allow the water to flow into the channel which carries it completely through the city. This holiday, usually observed with a good deal of merriment, firing of guns, and general feasting, they thought would be a favourable time to carry out their plans; but the pasha had been well acquainted with their design, and had even employed emissaries to excite them to enter Cairo. They assembled at one of the gates and rushed in along with a drove of donkeys which had just been admitted; but directly they entered the narrow streets and endeavoured to arouse the people by shouts and cries and the clash of arms, they were assailed on all sides by a fire of musketry from windows and terraced roofs. Numbers of them fell and died of their wounds, others were taken prisoners and executed, the rest escaped in the gathering darkness of the night. Whether it be true or not that the heads of some of the Memlook chiefs were cut off and sent to the sultan at Constantinople, it is certain that Mohammed Ali did not hesitate to follow up his advantage.

The sultan became uneasy, and the opinion at Constantinople was that means should be taken to check the ambition of the new pasha. An officer of high rank was despatched to Cairo with authority to set affairs straight, and bearing a firman or imperial order. The pasha received him with the utmost docility and placed the firman against his forehead in token of obedience. The envoy was invested with robes of honour and received costly presents, but he never reappeared at Constantinople, and Mohammed actively employed himself in strengthening the garrison, collecting vast quantities of stores and provisions and other produce of the country, and in amassing wealth for himself. Once more the sultan endeavoured to restrain him by sending the Turkish admiral with orders to bring him at once to Constantinople, but Mohammed Ali was sick—nothing but his deplorable condition would prevent him from obeying the high behests of his sovereign and master, to whom, however, he might, he hoped, be permitted to offer a sum of money as a proof of his dutiful attachment. What could be said or done with a vassal at once so resolute, so humble, and so considerate? The suspicions of the sultan were suffered to

slumber. At the next festival of the Beiram, when appointments, promotions, changes, or endorsements of all offices of the state were announced, Mohammed Ali was confirmed in the office of pasha of Egypt,—the viceroy, to whom all the district governors were responsible for the districts under their command, though it should be remembered that these district governors were, in a sense, independent and despotic, as they had power to make their own laws, alter them to suit certain emergencies, and change them again when the desired end was attained. All that really concerned them was to secure their own authority and the favour of the viceroy, by sending him as much money as possible, and being ready to do his bidding. Of course the system was one of a succession of tyrannies, under a series of officers and subordinates whose business it was to squeeze as much as they could out of the people, that they might furnish supplies of troops for the garrisons and regiments, and provisions for the pasha's stores, and either a proportion of merchandise or produce for sale and export, or coin for the exchequer. To do these things they had first to be thoroughly acquainted with the capabilities of the districts over which they ruled; that is to say, with the extent to which pressure of taxation could be placed on the people. As the system became more closely organized under Mohammed Ali, the condition of the people was often hard, and many of them suffered much oppression amidst the bitterness of grinding poverty, but it is doubtful after all whether the fellahs and the lower classes of the population were worse off in this respect than they had been under the more precarious tyranny of the Memlooks; and though they were now liable to be called upon to serve in the garrisons and the army they enjoyed greater protection, more equal, or at all events more regular and intelligible, administration of the law, and a degree of certainty which was in itself a great boon to a people who had long writhed under the heels of indiscriminate and constantly changing oppressors. Of course the imposts were often such as to crush those who were compelled to submit to them; nor were the means of extorting them gentle or merciful. But heavy taxes were always inflictions on other countries beside Egypt, and the methods by

which they were exacted were not often such as to conciliate the sufferers. Even in this country, and in our own day, occasional complaints may be heard, especially from the inhabitants of districts where to increasing local rates, heavy imperial taxes, and the inquisitorial and often monstrous demands of the assessor of income-tax, is added the infliction of extra tithe.

Mohammed Ali now prepared to extend and consolidate his power. Old Ibrahim Bardissy and Elfy Bey were both dead, and he had no reason to fear that anyone else could successfully interfere with his legal title. Still he kept a wary and suspicious eye upon the surviving Memlooks. He advanced into Upper Egypt with a considerable force and there attacked and defeated them, and would probably have followed them in their retreat but for the despatches from Constantinople telling him of the hostilities between Great Britain and Turkey already referred to. In this conflict he and the beys, who now made peace with him and followed his standard, bore a prominent part, and inflicted great loss and some barbarities upon the small English force, which, as we have seen, was compelled to retire without having effected any particular object, or gained any special advantage.

But he still feared that there could be no real security for him while the powerful influence, which even the traditional authority of the Memlooks represented, continued to exist. His position would be precarious while a body of men, whose chiefs were still numerous, and all of whom may be said to have represented an independent armed force, could be propitiated by the Sultan Mahmoud and used to create divisions for the purpose of preventing a settled government in Egypt.

It did not require much deliberation to determine their fate. The pasha had more than one example of Turkish treachery for imitation. The fate of those Memlook beys who had been devoted to slaughter in the Bay of Aboukir perhaps suggested to him a plan for destroying the power of these brilliant turbulent warriors, that he might no longer have them to reckon with when his ambitious projects for attaining independent authority over Egypt and Syria could be matured and acted on.

There were some 1700 of these brave splendid horsemen in the country, and Mohammed soon hit on an expedient for attracting above 400 of their beys to Cairo. It is difficult to imagine how they could have trusted him after the experience of the Nile festival; but on that occasion they entered the city as insurgents, and now, in 1811, their attempt had been condoned, they were restored to favour, and had been in arms as the allies of this powerful Roumelian pasha, whose prowess they understood and acknowledged.

There was again an opportunity of engaging in their trade of war, and under conditions which probably delighted them. Mohammed Ali had been fully employed since the hostilities against the British expedition, in making his government permanent in Egypt. To increase the numbers of his army, and to provide for the expenditure which became necessary for the support of a large body of troops, he was compelled to adopt such severe measures of conscription and taxation that his popularity was considerably diminished, and a rising of the Memlooks avowedly in the popular cause might lead to his overthrow. At the same time he had determined to take immediate measures for making war against the Wahabees, and it would be necessary to employ his most able commanders and his best troops on such an expedition. The Wahabees, a fanatical sect, had made a descent upon the holy city of Mecca and committed outrages. Mohammed Ali determined to suppress them, an intention in which he was obeying the behests of the sublime porte, from which an intimation had come that the subjection of the Wahabees was important for the preservation of the true faith and the integrity of the empire. An important command was to be taken by Toussoon, son of the pasha, who received the title of pasha of the second grade.

Mohammed Ali began his preparations by calling a divan, or meeting of notables, to declare his intention to prosecute the war. At the same time he announced that he would hold a *fantasia* or festival in honour of the expedition. He had already propitiated the good-will of the Memlooks by giving them to understand that they would occupy a prominent place in the army

destined to prosecute a religious war against the Wahabees, and stated that he proposed holding a review, in which he should himself inspect the Memlook cavalry. This programme was carried out with the utmost satisfaction, the pasha declaring that he was delighted with the appearance of the warriors, and giving them many assurances of his approbation. About half the number of these men set forward on their march, and were to await the rest at a station at a distance. In the course of a few days another festival was held, when the main body of the troops were to be marshalled for the inspection of the pasha, and the investiture of his son Toussoon with his new honours was to take place in the citadel. Thither he invited the remaining Memlooks in order that they might take part in the celebration and receive his final instructions. They arrived in glittering array, superbly attired, armed, and mounted. With their leader, Châhyn Bey, they repaired to the hall of audience, where they were received by Mohammed Pasha with apparent kindness and hospitality. The parade took place and the troops marched to the citadel, the pasha's men first, the mounted Memlooks following. The way was by a passage or defile cut out of the rock. No sooner had the Memlooks entered it than the gate behind them was closed, and they were thus caught as in a trap, and were shot down from the rocks and battlements above, or from the windows of the houses in the citadel square, where men fired upon them volleys from which they could neither defend themselves nor retreat. There is a story that one of the beys named Amim escaped the massacre. He was a splendid fellow and a wonderful horseman, as many of the Memlooks were, and at the first attack he spurred his steed till he made him clamber the rampart, and thence urged the noble animal to leap over the parapet. The fall was that of a precipice about forty feet deep. The horse was killed, but the rider escaped and sought the protection of some Albanians, who refused to give him up though a large reward was offered. The rest of the Memlooks, to the number of 470, were slaughtered. Those of them who rode on and sought for protection in the houses of the square were driven out and killed. For several

hours Cairo was a scene of butchery and disorder, as advantage was taken of the search for the Memlooks by the troops to perpetrate many atrocities.

The signal was given for the army to set out. When the troops reached the spot where the first detachment of the Memlook cavalry was encamped the latter came forth expecting to meet their comrades, but they were immediately attacked and numbers of them slain. Outside Cairo, and in other parts of the surrounding country, similar massacres took place. The Memlooks being divided, only a few survived, and these fled to Dongola, one of the finest of the Soudan provinces, its northern border being the limit of Upper Nubia. This territory was afterwards tributary to the Shaiki, by whom it had been taken from the Memlooks, and did not come under the Egyptian rule till the conquests by Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mohammed Ali, in 1820. Here the remnant of the escaped Memlooks were suffered to remain, as there were too few of them to cause the pasha further anxiety. That the destruction of their power was beneficial, inasmuch as their influence had prevented the progress and development of the country, can hardly be denied, and the same may be said in relation to Turkey and the suppression (by similar means) of the Janizaries by the Sultan Mahmoud in Constantinople in 1826; but the tale of the massacre has always been regarded as one of the blackest of the records against Mohammed Ali. That personage, however, considered that he was justified in perpetrating the deed as a measure of self-protection, even leaving out of the question the orders he was said to have received from Constantinople. It has been reported that on being informed of the reproaches expressed against him by travellers or visitors who gave narratives of their journeys in Egypt, he retorted that he would have a picture painted of the massacre of the Memlooks, together with one of the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, and leave to posterity to pass judgment on the two events. He might with even greater force have pointed to the massacres of the Huguenots in France, which continued with only slight intermission for two hundred years.

The Wahabees were heterodox Moslems of Derayeh in Arabia,

named after a leader, Abdul Wahab, who a century earlier had introduced certain heretical doctrines with regard to the Prophet. He was a man of severe, simple habits, and his followers became so numerous that he was able, in opposition to the provincial governors, to deny the efficacy of pilgrimages to the tomb of Mohammed, or of the use of relics and the outward ceremonials which were accounted of more importance than prayer and true piety.

Both he and his successors endeavoured to make converts by the sword. They became bitter persecutors, and as their armed bands were well trained and had augmented in numbers till they became an organized army, the propaganda was carried into Persia, where the people of the city of Kirbeleh were slaughtered and the tomb of Hassan, the grandson of the Prophet (a shrine visited by pilgrims) was plundered and desecrated. Nor did the Wahabees stop there. At the head of 40,000 men their leader Sehood, who was now ruler of Derayeh, marched on Medina, which he entered, and ordering the tomb of the Prophet to be opened, despoiled it of numerous jewels and precious stones, vessels of gold and other treasures. He afterward went to Mecca, where he also met with little resistance.

It was then that the government at Constantinople sent to the viceroy of Egypt to suppress the Wahabees and punish their audacious leader.

There is no need to enter into the details of the war against these fanatics in Arabia. It was not successful at first, and Toussoon, the son of Mohammed Ali, who was in command, died either of disease or of poison. The viceroy, who had already retrieved the first failure by taking the command himself, then confided the generalship to another son, Ibrahim Pasha, who afterwards became famous not only for his personal courage and able generalship, but for the enlightened views which he entertained, and for his intelligent friendship towards Europeans, and the adoption of their methods of organization, both in civil and military affairs.

Mohammed himself, however, had soon discovered that to create a really powerful and effective force, which would enable him

to extend his power, he must improve the military tactics of his troops, and cause them to be drilled and instructed on the plan employed in the armies of Europe. It was said that for this purpose he first employed some French soldiers who had deserted from the army of Bonaparte at the time of the invasion and had remained in the country. But, at all events, it was was not long before he had in his pay several French ex-officers, while a large number of his own officers were placed under the training of Colonel Sève, formerly aide-de-camp to Marshal Ney. In the navy also he afterwards placed in command some former English officers of considerable ability. These innovations caused so much dissatisfaction among the troops and the people at Cairo, and especially among the native troops, who objected to regular discipline, that they led to dangerous demonstrations by the men against the subaltern officers; several of the latter were assassinated in the streets, and at last the troops in the neighbourhood of the city broke into open mutiny. This outbreak was probably instigated by some of the beys or chiefs; but the viceroy, who had taken up his position in the citadel, was able to still the commotion by promising a general amnesty to the offenders, and as many of the beys afterwards disappeared, and the sudden death of some persons of more or less distinction also followed, there was reason to suppose that the ringleaders were known. For a time this demonstration of hostility interrupted his first efforts to reorganize the army, but the campaign in Arabia had proved the necessity for a better discipline and training for the troops, and though the defeat of the Wahabees and the destruction of Basille in 1815 had terminated that campaign, it was almost certain that war would have to be resumed. In this expedition disease had thinned the Egyptian ranks, and the Albanians, who were worn out with a series of desultory engagements with half-barbarous opponents, had begun to murmur against being kept for so long a period amidst hardships and the ravages of sickness. Yet these Albanians were afterwards the obstinate opponents of the introduction of European drill and evolutions, till they were shamed out of their prejudices by the improvements effected in the regiments

of fellaheen and Nubians, who had been under regular drill and instruction.

Mohammed Ali was too acute an observer to have failed to note the vast superiority of French and British troops, and was far-seeing enough to understand that his future existence might depend on his ability to hold his own even against the Turkish battalions. However romantic and picturesque the brilliant cohorts of Memlooks may have been, however brave and impetuous the charges of Roumelians and Albanians in their wild warfare, nothing could stand in the place of the steadiness, discipline, concerted action, and obedience to well understood command, displayed by European troops.

Perhaps the usually accepted notion of the imposing appearance of the Albanian warriors, even on the occasion of a triumphal return, was liable to question by an unsusceptible and adverse critic. Sir Frederick Henniker was in Cairo in 1821 on the occasion of the triumphal return of Ibrahim Pasha from the victorious campaign in Arabia, and he describes the scene:—"Soon the infantry (Albanians) mustered. An attempt to drill these lawless ragamuffins occasioned the last insurrection; no marching and countermarching, no playing at soldiers. They, however, suffer themselves to be drawn up in a line to listen to the music, if such it may be called, when produced by drums and squeaking Moorish pipes in the hands of Turks: a number of voices frequently chimed in and destroyed the monotony; during this the soldiers were quiet. It is nearly impossible to distinguish officers from privates; every man provides himself with clothes and arms according to his means; there is only this family likeness among them, that pistols, swords, and a shirt outwardly exhibited are necessary. An Albanian is not improved since the time of Alexander; he is still a soldier and a robber. Ibrahim Pasha, having, as he says, conquered the Wahabees, made his triumphal entry this morning—first came the cavalry, horses of all sizes, ages, colours, and qualities; an Arab fellah attendant upon each soldier carried a musket; every soldier carried—a pipe; occasionally the prelude of a kettle-drum hammered monotonously with a short

leathern strap, announced a person of consequence, the consequence consisted in eight or nine dirty Arabs carrying long sticks and screaming tumultuously; then came the infantry, a long straggling line of Albanians; then a flag; then a long pole surmounted by a gilt ball, from this suspended a flowing tail of horse-hair; then a second flag, a second tail, a third flag, and the pasha's third tail; the victor covered with a *white satin* gown and a high conical cap of the same military material; this Cæsar looked like a sick girl coming from the bath. The mobility closed this Hudibrastic triumph. Having traversed the town, they vented their exultation in gunpowder. The Turkish soldiers, whether in fun or earnest, always fire with ball; and on a rejoicing day it commonly happens that several are killed; these *accidents* fall in general on the Franks."

This is an amusing example of smart writing, and from the observer's point of view it was accurate enough; but it was not very long before considerable changes had taken place. Not only was the army of Mohammed Ali drilled and instructed on the European plan, but it was vastly augmented. The conscription was wide and severe, and though many of the fellaheen had a rooted antipathy to enter the service, and frequently maimed or half-blinded themselves to avoid being drafted into the army, the proclamations of the pasha were not easily avoided, especially as any artifices used to escape military service were punished by fine or otherwise. The advantage of possessing infantry so organized that large masses of men could be moved wherever the ground was such as to allow of military evolution, was soon proved by a succession of victories over the Arabian fanatics, which left the viceroy at liberty to turn his attention to other enterprises, the first of which was an expedition which he had prepared in 1820, for the purpose of bringing the natives of Kordofan and Sennaar completely under his rule. This duty was confided to another son, Ismael, who conducted the campaign with energy and not without barbarity, sending vast numbers of prisoners from the conquered districts to Essouan, where they were at once drafted into the army and placed under the discipline of the French instructors. Unhappily, either from disease brought on by the change of climate

and mode of living, or, in many cases, from the misery of enforced service away from home and friends, or from actual indifference to life and either neglect of the means of maintaining it or direct suicide, these black troops dwindled down from 20,000 to about a sixth of that number; but the drilling and training went on throughout the army, and the levies of fellahs and Arabs were eventually formed into disciplined troops—clad in more useful and comfortable uniforms, governed by military law, and punished for offences only after trial by the appointed tribunal.

By 1827 a complete army of twelve regiments of infantry, each consisting of five battalions of 800 men, besides cavalry, artillery, and marines, had been formed on this plan, the marines being stationed at Alexandria, to be ready, if necessary, to serve in naval warfare. As the blacks were not found capable of undergoing the fatigue and monotony of the training, the national conscription included about 30,000 additional peasants and Arabs, who were sent under a military guard to Upper Egypt.

That the miseries inflicted on the inhabitants of the country who were compelled to serve in the army were not soon at an end, however, the following decree, sent as late as 1833 to the military governors of districts, will be some evidence:—

"With respect to the men whom we take for the service of our victorious armies and navies. On their way to us, some draw their teeth, some put out their eyes, and others break their arms, or in other ways maim themselves, thus laying us under the necessity of sending back the greater part, and causing the deficiency in the report of the war department which I always perceive. *Make up those deficiencies*, by sending *immediately* all the men which are wanting, all *fit for service, able-bodied and healthy*. And when you forward them, let them know that they must not maim themselves, because I will take from the family of every such offender, *men* in his place—*and he who has maimed himself shall be sent to the galleys for life!* I have already on my part issued *written* orders on this subject to the Sheikhs, and do thou also take care, in concert with them, to levy the conscripts demanded, and send them *immediately*, informing me at the same time, and with the *least possible delay*, of the number of men which remains in your department. This is what I demand!

(Signed) MOHAMMED ALI."

Writing on the subject some time afterwards, and when the military organization was more complete, a traveller who had unusual means of observation said: "The Arabs have a very strong and natural aversion to a military life, and when they know that any recruiting is going forward, nothing is more common than for them to cut and maim themselves in order to escape being taken from their families. They not only chop off the forefinger of the right hand, but they have even been known to put out their own and their children's eyes with sharp instruments or corrosive substances; such is their hatred of Mohammed Ali and their love of home. It must not be supposed that the Arabs are cowards, this is far from being the case, but they are naturally industrious, social, and domesticated, fond of their children, and well-disposed to all who use them well. This effort to elude the pasha's vigilance succeeded for a time, but was attended in the end with most disastrous consequences. Terrible punishments were inflicted; and very often the innocent, who had been blind or maimed from other causes, became the victims of a set of wretches, who, finding that a decree had gone forth on the subject, threatened to hand them over to the authorities if they did not answer their demands.

"In the summer of 1832 all influential men were required to furnish a certain number of soldiers, under a penalty of 700 piastres (about £10) for each default. This occasioned such a search, and so many were seized and sent away from their homes, that the villages and towns were filled with lamentation; and the women went about wailing and shrieking, as for the dead."

The soldiers were not soldiers by choice, as they were taken from their families by force, and were often ill-fed and ill-paid or suffering from long arrears of pay. When Mohammed Ali organized what he called a "National Guard," the force was chiefly composed of boys stolen from their families, and driven down from the interior in chains, and when there was a scarcity of chains, holes were made in planks for the hands, and the planks were then nailed together. In this state they were sent on board the ships to be forwarded to Candia, there to be drilled, and it often hap-

pened that their hands were so swollen by the time they reached the coast, that they were unable to use them for weeks.

The advance into the provinces of Nubia and the Soudan, though it was successful so far as the subjugation of the native rulers and the mixed populations was concerned, was disastrous to Ismael Pasha, whom Mohammed Ali had placed in command of the forces. Having arrived at Shendy with his troops, he called the great Sheikh Mek (Melek or king) Nimmur (leopard) before him, and demanded as tribute to the pasha, supplies for his army, 1000 young girls as slaves, 1000 oxen, 1000 of camels, goats, and sheep respectively, 1000 camel loads of corn and the same quantity of straw, with various other commodities all numbered by the thousand. "Your computations show a charming simplicity," said Mek Nimmur, "as the only figure appears to be 1000."

In a short time the supplies began to arrive; strings of camels laden with corn came to Shendy to the Egyptian camp, flocks and herds were on the way, and 1000 camel loads of fodder packed and dry were brought to headquarters, and stacked in a neat protecting wall round the space occupied by the general's tent. In the dead of night there was a crackling noise, a sudden glare, and the tent was encircled with a blaze of fire. The Arabs had set light to the wall of dry straw and fodder in several places. The flames roared; there was no escape, the tent itself caught fire. In the confusion the Arabs fell upon the invading troops and massacred numbers of them. The body of Ismael Pasha was found amidst the scorched and lifeless forms of some of his women. All within the fatal inclosure had perished. Mek Nimmur (the leopard king) retired with his people and herds to Sofi on the river Atbara, the chief tributary to the Nile, which town a few years ago was entirely destroyed by the Egyptians after he had retired to Abyssinia, where he had been welcomed as an enemy of the Turks, and had been presented by the king with a considerable territory at the western base of the high mountain range. In 1861 old Mek Nimmur was dead, and his son (also named Mek Nimmur) had succeeded him. He was constantly

at war with the Egyptians and such of the Arabs as were friendly to Egypt. His principal quarters were about seventy miles from Ṭomāl at a village named Mai Jubba, from which he made successful raids upon the Egyptian territory.

It may be as well to remember that the signification of "Nubia" and "the Soudan" has undergone some change recently. We have already seen in a previous page what is now meant by the Soudan; but it was originally, roughly speaking, Negroland or Nigritia, and the term was used to indicate African territory of somewhat indefinite area. It meant in its larger extent the great zone of land more or less cultivated or fertile from the Atlantic to the Red Sea and the highlands of Abyssinia, and from the Sahara and Egypt in the north to the Gulf of Guinea, the equatorial regions, and the Albert and Victoria Nyanzas. This is the home of the true negro race, though the population has become considerably diversified by various elements. The Soudan thus delineated has three principal divisions:—the Western Soudan, which includes the basins of the Senegal, the Niger, the Benuwe, and other rivers draining to the Atlantic; Central Soudan, comprising the basins of the Shasi and other rivers running into Lake Tschad, and covering the countries of Bornu, Begharmi, Kanem, and Wadai; and the Eastern Soudan, east of Wadai, which is chiefly included in the basin of the Middle and Upper Nile. This latter is the Egyptian Soudan with which we have to do.

Up to the year 1882 the Egyptian Soudan was, in fact, one ill-organized province:—its capital, Khartoum, at the junction of the Blue and the White Nile. It was afterwards divided into (1) the western territory of Darfur, Kordofan, Bahr el Ghazal (on a western tributary of the White Nile south of Kordofan), and Dongola, the capital being Fasher in Darfur; (2) the Central Soudan, which includes Khartoum, Sennaar, Berber, Fashoda (S.E. of Kordofan), and the equatorial province, extending along the upper province to the great lakes, the capital being Khartoum; (3) the Eastern Soudan, stretching along the Red Sea, and including Taka, Suakim, and Massowah; (4) the country of Harar, east of Abyssinia and north of the Somali land, almost entirely

separated from other Egyptian possessions, and divided into Zeyla, Berbera, and Harar.

The Egyptian Soudan, before the division, had an approximate area of about 2,500,000 square miles, and a population of 12,000,000, three-fourths of whom were probably of mixed or pure negro descent, the rest being of Semitic or Hamitic races. The former were pagans or nominal Mohammedans, the latter orthodox or fanatical Mohammedans. The term Arabs as applied generally to the inhabitants of this region is somewhat vague, since, though some of them have a claim to Arab descent, they consist of various tribes much intermingled. On the other hand, Nubia, or the land of Cush, derives its name from the Coptic and Egyptian word *Noub*, gold, and at one time Mohammed Ali visited the territory in the hope that he would be able profitably to work the gold that is to be found there. It is the ancient Ethiopia, and extends from Philœ, near the first cataract of the Nile, to the Sennaar. The modern inhabitants are principally Arabs who invaded the country in the time of Mohammed. In the reign of Selim the people of one tribe were driven into Dongola, and there their descendants remain at Ibrim, Assouan, and Sai, while the lower country is held by the Berbers. The whole country is inhabited by a mixed race of Arabians and Nigritians. East of Dongola are the Sheygha, a fine black race, warlike, and renowned for their horsemanship. South of Cosseir are the Ababdeh Arabs, famous as guides and camel-drivers, and the Bishareens, said to be a remnant of the ancient Blemmyes, a tribe living on flesh and milk, and differing in some respects from the oriental character of the Arabs. The Takahs are the dwellers in the mountains. The languages of these tribes differ. The number of the inhabitants of the whole territory has been estimated at 1,000,000, and they were governed by their own chiefs or rulers till they were subdued to the domination of Egypt by Ismael Pasha in 1820, and the numerous and valuable products of the country in grain, gums, perfumes, senna, wax, wool, cotton, gold-dust, ivory, &c., went by way of commerce to Egypt.

The people inhabiting the country above Egypt have been

described as two tribes of people resembling each other in physical characteristics, but of distinct character and origin. It has been suggested that one is the aboriginal or native, and the other a foreign tribe. Dr. Prichard distinguished them as Eastern Nubians or Nubians of the Red Sea, and Nubians of the Nile or Berberines, but all these tribes have red-brown complexions, often approaching to black, though not to the ebony-black of the actual Eastern negro. Their hair is not woolly but frizzy. The Eastern Nubians are the roving tribes who inhabit the country between the Nile and the Red Sea, and the northern division of the race are the Ababdeh, who are to be found northward in the eastern district as far as Kossein and towards the borders of the land of the fierce and barbarous Bishareens, who extend towards the confines of Abyssinia.

The Barabra or Berberines are in the higher country of the Nile in the Berber valley, from the southern border of Egypt to Sennaar, and many of these people go up to Egypt as labourers. They are a people distinct from the Arab tribes around them, and follow agricultural and pastoral pursuits, cultivating fields of grain and plots of vegetables on the banks of the Nile. The Berbers have in general a good character for honesty and fair dealing, and they are mostly placable folks ready to trade in the products of their fields and gardens. They may be said to be divided into three sections, who speak respectively the dialects of the Nuba, the Kenous, and the Dongolawi, and it is considered probable that they are an offshoot from the original stock which first peopled Egypt and Nubia.

On the antiquity and extension of this people Dr. Latham says, "All that is not Arabic in the kingdom of Morocco, all that is not Arabic in the French provinces of Algeria, all that is not Arabic in Tunis, Tripoli, and Fezzan, is Berber. The language also of the ancient Cyrenaica, indeed the whole country bordering the Mediterranean, between Tripoli and Egypt, is Berber. The extinct language of the Canary Isles was Berber; and finally the language of the Sahara is Berber. The antiquity of the Berber nation is indubitable, and from the earliest times it has occupied

the same territory as it does at present. The ancient Numidian and Mauritanian names of Sallust have a meaning in the modern Berber language. It has affinities with the Semitic. In the northern parts of the Atlas these people are called Berbers, in the southern tracts they are the Shelhas or Shuluh, in the hilly country belonging to Tunis the Kabyles, in Mount Auress the Showiah, and in the desert the Touarick; all belong to the same group."

This apparent digression has, it will be seen, a direct relation to the proper definition of the territory and the people constituting the Egyptian Soudan, the outlying territory which Mohammed Ali subjected to his authority. At first his immediate object was vastly to recruit his army by troops from among the people of the conquered provinces, but the blacks could not endure transportation to Egypt. The cold of the Egyptian winter caused great mortality among them, and though Ibrahim Pasha afterwards took a large number of Nubian soldiers to the Morea, in the war against Greece, he found that the number who sickened and died was so great that he could not depend on the regiments being fit for active service.

The invasion and conquest of the upper provinces had scarcely been achieved when Ibrahim had to withdraw his troops from the territories of Dongola and Kordofan, that they might, by the orders of the Sublime Porte, aid the sultan in preventing Greek independence.

It does not fall within the scope and object of these pages to recount the events which led to the oppression of the Greek people by the Turks, nor to describe the revolt which took place, followed in 1826 by the capture of Missolonghi by Ibrahim Pasha and the subsequent intervention of the great powers of Europe, and the vindication of the Greek claims to freedom. The stern, passionate, but far-seeing and determined son of Mohammed Ali was the foremost figure in the drama of Turkish domination, and Missolonghi, which was said to be the key of Western Greece, soon fell before his ruthless assaults. For two years his fleet had wrought havoc upon the unhappy country where the people had long previously commenced a struggle, the events of which belong to the romance or to the poetry of history, and deeply moved

the sympathies of many English men and women, who shared with Lord Byron an earnest, if a somewhat sentimental or dramatic sympathy with the patriots, to whom they could at all events send contributions of money from a regular fund.

There was something at once poetical and classical about Greek scrip; the issue of it assumed the aspect of a philanthropic subscription rather than a commercial speculation, until the inevitable land-sharks found it would be possible to prey upon it, and the fund was mismanaged, the contractors and manipulators contriving to intercept a large proportion of the money that should have gone to the relief of the Greek patriots. Lord Byron had died in 1824 at Missolonghi, two years before it fell before the forces of Ibrahim Pasha, and public feeling here ran high when the oppressed people appealed to the government of Britain for help, which could not be afforded them without the breach of some treaty clause or other and the consequent danger of European quarrels.

In the following year, however, Mr. Canning had brought to a successful issue his proposed triple alliance of England, France, and Russia for the settlement of the affairs of Greece. He, like many other scholars and men of classic tastes and poetical imaginations, was enthusiastic in favour of maintaining the liberty of the land of old renown, and enabling it to occupy a position of respect among the nations of the world. Apart from enthusiasm, however, events that were then happening were such as to stir the generous instincts and fire the indignation of any people with a traditional love of liberty and a hatred of tyrannical cruelty. Ibrahim Pasha had gone to show that the sultan, whose forces had been repeatedly defeated by the Greeks, ever since the commencement of the war in 1821, would only succeed by calling him and his army to help him. He therefore set about, not only the conquest, but the devastation of the country and the merciless slaughter of the people. His large army of mixed races and savage desert tribes, but all of whom had been drilled and trained, was let loose upon the land of the olive and the myrtle. Ibrahim Pasha showed that he had inherited the barbarous ferocity which some men declared had frequently characterized the proceedings of his father. It is

doubtful whether in this respect the general of the army in Greece did not exceed the uneducated but astute and humorous viceroy. He was no more unscrupulous than Mohammed Ali, but there was at this time a persistent relentless cruelty about his proceedings combined with obstinate dogged temper, frequently breaking out into paroxysms of fury, which he, however, succeeded in mastering by a violent effort whenever he saw the advantage of so doing. His name was hated, not only in Greece, but by large numbers of Egyptians, although it must be owned that he introduced a more certain government by settled laws not only in the army but wherever he had authority, so that there was a little more security from gross and scandalous injustice, even if there was a greater degree of severity.

He had 163 war vessels in his fleet, and the Greek flotillas, composed chiefly of light polacca-built brigs, were swept away by the Egyptian and Turkish ships of the line built by Europeans. The war of oppression had become an atrocious massacre, as though for the purpose of exterminating the people of Greece. The opportunity was taken of showing the Sultan Mahmoud what could be achieved by his viceroy, where he himself and his Turkish commanders had failed. The story of the intervention of the three powers; the arrogant assumptions of indifference shown by Ibrahim Pasha, who refused to become a party to a proposed arrangement and suspension of hostilities; his treacherous continuance of the savage slaughter of women and children, and the burning of houses, farms, and vineyards after he had promised in reply to the allied admirals that he would put a stop to the devastation on shore, and cause his fleet to remain at Navarino, is pretty well known, and belongs to another history. Ibrahim Pasha, and his father the viceroy, Mohammed Ali, had possibly reached such a pitch of arrogance that they thought the European powers would not commence actual hostilities, or they perhaps counted on the friendly offices of France to restrain the other powers at the last moment; for France was constantly at the elbow of the viceroy, and still had a hankering after the establishment of a dominating influence in Egypt.

At anyrate, it soon became evident that the dogged obstinacy of the Turkish and Egyptian commanders was immovable except, by some forcible demonstration, and the entrance of the allied squadron into the Bay of Navarino, there to keep in check the Ottoman fleet, would itself have been of little effect if it could have been possible to prevent some accidental or intentional display of hostility which would end in a decisive engagement.

The relative situation of the European powers, Turkey, and Egypt was, that while the allies were endeavouring to negotiate with the government of the sultan for securing an armistice, Ibrahim was prosecuting the war in Greece in a manner so savage as to raise the indignation of civilized peoples. On being assured by the allied admirals that, if he continued hostilities, he would probably lose his fleet, and injure the real interests of his sovereign the sultan, he agreed to stay further acts of devastation on shore, and to keep the fleet at Navarino so as to prevent it from engaging in any further hostilities against Greece, until he had instructions from Constantinople. On the strength of this promise the allied squadrons departed, leaving only one English and a French frigate to watch the harbour of Navarino. As soon as the squadrons were out of sight, Ibrahim, entirely disregarding his agreement, and, it may be presumed, acting quite independently of any advices for which he professed to be waiting, put to sea for the purpose of descending on Patras. The British admiral, Sir Edward Codrington, was then at Zante with his own ship of the line, one frigate, and two brigs, and on the intelligence reaching him he sailed at once to intercept, if possible, the vessels that had thus treacherously left the harbour. He discovered that they were nine corvettes, two brigs, and nineteen transports on the way round the Morea and keeping near the coast. After he had made ready for action, he sent a message that they must return to Navarino; and, as they had already heard that British admirals were not to be trifled with, they obeyed. But this did not put an end to the massacres and cruelties which were perpetrated by the troops on shore, and it was determined to take the allied fleet into Navarino Bay, and there by an imposing display of force again

seek to negotiate with Ibrahim for the purpose of putting an end to the sanguinary and barbarous conflict on terms which would be to the advantage of the porte.

It will be seen that Ibrahim, as representing his father Mohammed Ali, had already assumed an authority which was significant of coming events; but nothing was more likely than that the sultan, who might soon require European aid, was not unwilling to leave the Egyptian commander responsible for occurrences for which the porte might repudiate any immediate personal responsibility should they prove detrimental to Turkish interests. It can scarcely be doubted that the assumptions of Mohammed Ali, his increasing wealth, and the portentous army which he had organized, in addition to his acquisition of the territory of the tribal chiefs over whom he had acquired control, had already made the sultan uneasy and suspicious; and it is probable, because it would have been consistent with the usual Turkish policy, that he was purposely holding back, leaving Ibrahim to bear the brunt of European hostility, and so contriving matters that he himself might be able at some future time to temper defeat by asking for the aid of one or other of the powers against any aggressive act of insubordination on the part of the viceroy.

The course taken by the allied admirals was not resisted. The combined squadrons (26 ships of various rates with a total of 1324 guns) passed the Turkish batteries without a shot being fired at them, anchored in the harbour without interference, and close to the Turkish-Egyptian fleet of 79 ships crowded with men (but only three ships of the line), and 2240 guns. There they remained in silence, except for the occasional hum and stir on board one or other of the vessels, and the sound of a band of music practising on the deck of the British admiral's ship. It was a strange spectacle, and the result might have been expected. Every one was at high tension. The two fleets were like hounds in the leash ready to spring. Orders had been given that not a gun should be fired. The Turks were equally silent, both on board their vessels and in the batteries. Before the proposal for renewed negotiations could be conveyed, the inevitable spark fell that produced the

conflagration. A boat sent from one of the British frigates with a request for the removal of some Turco-Egyptian fire-ships from the entrance to the harbour, either was mistaken for a menace to the vessel which lay nearest to it, or its approach was made a pretext for an attack. A volley of small arms was fired into it, and the lieutenant in command, with several of the boat's crew, were killed. A couple of cannon shots fired into one of the ships of the squadron followed, and then the guns began to boom in a general cannonade. The attack was unexpected, but it did not take long for the British and French ships to clear for action, and very soon a storm of artillery shook the air.

The Turks and Egyptians fought with the utmost courage; but who could stand against the men of the French and English squadrons? The French officers not only vied with our own in courage and gallantry, but by their adroitness gave ready aid to our commanders, and generously yielded the leading position only to stand by us with fearless alacrity. So tremendous was the conflict, that at one time Sir Edward Codrington's ship, the *Asia*, which took the lead in the engagement, could not be seen, and it was feared that she had sunk; but when the smoke cleared and the admiral himself was seen alone upon the poop, his clothes torn with shot, and when the flag upon the topmast was visible fluttering in the murky air such a ringing cheer went up from the whole combined squadron that it sounded like a shout of victory; as, indeed, it was. This battle liberated Greece from the Ottoman tyranny; it also proved to the viceroy and his son that they had underestimated the determination and the force of the British character, for they discovered, not only that the alliance was of British origin, but that the destruction of their navy and the crushing defeat at Navarino was caused by their having paltered with the assurance they had given to the admirals. They had not calculated that the calm patience and endurance of the English officers was the result of confidence, and that prompt and effectual action was to be the result of the refusal to consider the offers made to the sultan.

As a confirmation of the suggestions already made in reference

to the attitude assumed by the Sultan Mahmoud, it should be noted that when the intelligence of the utter defeat and destruction of a large part of the fleet at Navarino was carried to Constantinople he showed little emotion and no anger. The ambassadors of England, France, and Russia were allowed to depart without the slightest molestation, though it must be remembered that war had not been declared when the attack made upon the despatch boat precipitated this tremendous battle. The ambassadors, of course, left the Turkish capital, but many of their countrymen who chose to remain were placed under the protection of the law, and were in complete security.

Mohammed Ali was now sixty-three years old, and while his son Ibrahim Pasha was actively employed in the wars in Arabia and against Greece, the viceroy was as fully engaged in developing the resources of Egypt and organizing numerous schemes for improvement, in which he sought the assistance of Europeans, particularly of the French. Unfortunately for him, and particularly at a later date, Egypt was becoming a resort for a great many adventurers, who, as the phrase ran, went "to look after the piastres." He continued, however, to intrust to Europeans the management of certain subordinate departments of his government, and in this respect Ibrahim Pasha was in complete accord with him, so that everywhere in Egypt the antagonism to the Franks, which still characterized the Turks, was being broken down by the energetic determination of the pasha to employ Frenchmen in the army, Englishmen in the navy, and English, French, and Italians in several civil offices. Many of the higher class of Turks both at Cairo and Alexandria began to adopt some of the manners of Europeans, such as sitting on chairs, using knives and forks at table, and glass or porcelain drinking vessels. Ibrahim Pasha himself employed a French cook when he was not on a campaign, and sometimes, it was said, indulged rather freely in wine and brandy. Mohammed Ali, however, retained personally the old fashions, even when he received European visitors, as he frequently did, though he had to employ an interpreter. A story is told of a lady who accompanied a friend, escorted by some gentlemen, to

dine with the pasha. The party sat in the Turkish manner on a divan, round a low table or tray on which the viands were placed, and his highness paid her the compliment of depositing on her plate a choice portion of meat which he had taken with his hand from the dish. As the keen and expressive eye of Mohammed Ali was upon her, and a smile of benignity illumined his rather commonplace, but still strongly marked, features, she asked her female friend in a whisper what she was to do with the tempting morsel. "Do! why, eat it, to be sure," was the reply; an injunction which she at once carried out, to the apparent satisfaction of the host, whose countenance continued to beam upon her. Probably the old fox, though he did not understand English, knew perfectly well what was said, for one of his most remarkable gifts was the ability to read the thoughts of others, and to conceal his knowledge of them by a serene unaltered smile or grave attention to what was being *said*, that he might reply to it with diplomatic courtesy and hoodwink the unhappy individual who fancied that fair words had covered some treacherous attention. His son Ibrahim also possessed the faculty of reading in people's faces, or in their manner of speaking, the thoughts which their words were intended to conceal, and the accomplishment often proved to be valuable to himself and dangerous to his enemies.

It need scarcely be said that the viceroy and his probable successor to the pashalik profited by their frequent association with the more cultured Europeans, who held positions of confidence. We have already noted that Mohammed could neither read nor write till he was forty years old; and though Ibrahim had learned much more than most of his Egyptian officers, his accomplishments were chiefly those of a general. As a general, too, his character was severe, and in war he allowed or even directed unnecessary cruelties to be perpetrated on those who opposed him, but he had at the same time a very strict sense of justice. The army learned to respect him, and those who were in his confidence entertained a sincere esteem for his character; for in spite of the treachery, which appeared to be regarded by the Turks as only a necessary weapon of government, he possessed

a certain degree of integrity, while his courage and fortitude were beyond question. Both he and the viceroy had an honest admiration for the fearless outspeaking of some of the Englishmen who were in their service, or with whom they came into accidental communication. As they were neither of them cowards, and only prevaricated profoundly when they thought it to be necessary to their own advantage; and as they were for the most part surrounded by obsequious dissimulators, and men who were ready to promise anything and to do anything within their power for a sufficient bribe, they could not always believe that a British ambassador, for instance, would refuse the offer of a jewelled sword, or that a naval commander in their pay would firmly decline to take his share of a second bottle of champagne—when invited to do so by Ibrahim —even though the pasha flew into a rage at his refusal, and told him that he was the only man who would dare to pass such a slight upon him.

Both these instances occurred among many others, and, as subsequent events proved, the viceroy as well as Ibrahim profited by the reliance they learned to place on British firmness and independence.

The protection afforded to Europeans in Alexandria and Cairo was in fact sufficient to arouse the jealousy of Turks and Egyptians. Some German workmen who hustled a Turk of some distinction while he was passing along a street, and when he drew his sword in self-defence wrested it from him and handled him rather roughly, were only punished by a reprimand and a day in the guard-house, and in many instances considerable indulgence was granted for offences which, if they had been committed by natives, would have been severely resented. Some English sailors ashore on leave amused themselves by seizing a small fort and holding it in defiance of the garrison of three or four soldiers, whom they overpowered and tied neck and heels. They were eventually captured, and their offence was brought under the notice of the pasha, who laughed at what he recognized to be only an escapade of the British blue-jacket. They had been locked up for a few hours, and then were handed over to the English consul, who

had orders to get them on board their ship again as quickly as possible.

A more ludicrous story of the tolerance of the viceroy for the British sailor, for whose rough humour and defiant reckless daring Mohammed Ali seems to have had genuine admiration, is told by Dr. Yates in his narrative of experiences in Egypt. It happened in Alexandria that a weather-beaten jack tar, one of the old species belonging to an English frigate lying at anchor in the roads, endeavoured to introduce himself with polite attentions to some Egyptian ladies who were returning from their usual weekly visit to the baths. This son of Neptune was taken before the pasha himself in the dockyard charged with causing a disturbance, proofs of which appeared on the faces of two Arabs of the guard, who in the endeavour to arrest the prisoner had had their heads punched to such an extent that they could scarcely distinguish the pasha from his officers. Jack had at last been overpowered by numbers, but not before he had bestowed upon his original assailants, not only a drubbing but various choice epithets in the vernacular of Portsmouth. His highness was entirely unable to comprehend how an unarmed man could have contrived so to disfigure their faces; and at last Galloway Bey, one of his English officers, by way of illustration, told the sailor to "let the pasha see *how he did it.*" The man-of-war's man, delighted to hear the round tones of his native idiom once more—being, as he thought, "in the hands of the Philistines"—replied at the top of his voice, "Aye! aye! sir!" And, suiting the action to the word, "hitched up" his trousers, and began "squaring" at a group of soldiers that stood near, knocked one of them down, gave a back-handed blow to the second, and simultaneously putting out his foot capsized a colonel of artillery, who in the scuffle was trying to get out of the way. Mohammed Ali enjoyed the joke as much as anybody; for in all his experience he had never witnessed such a scene before. Our hero, having been admonished by his countryman, was sent "under convoy" to the Mahmoudieh, or landing-place, where he said he should find his comrades and the ship's boat. Being told to depart, he gave his trousers another "hitch," kicked out his right

foot significantly, and rolled out of the yard, muttering words of mysterious import, and making grimaces at everybody he met.

After the battle of Navarino, when the Egyptian army evacuated the Morea, Mohammed Ali, who was "biding his time," made the losses he had sustained in Greece, together with the advantages likely to accrue to the sultan from his campaigns against the Wahabees and the Nubians, a pretext for strong claims upon the porte. He demanded the pashaliks of Acria and Damascus. The island of Candia was assigned to him instead; but this not being what he wanted, and altogether inadequate to his demands, he pretended to take umbrage, and subsequently withheld his aid when it was most needed, allowing the Sultan Mahmoud to fight his own battles against the Russians. The treaty of Adrianople, in September, 1829, established the independence of the Greek States; and soon after, Otho of Bavaria was placed on the throne by the five powers. Mohammed Ali was not idle all this time. He watched the proceedings of the sultan with the eye of a lynx, and secretly fomented discord in the Turkish provinces. It was at that time that he had become sufficiently acquainted with Europeans to desire their services and invite them to his dominions; but he was rash; he deceived others, and was deceived himself. Tempted by the hope of gain, all sorts of characters flocked around him; now and then he met with clever men, but seldom with talent, experience, and principle united. He was very desirous of extending his marine. He passed a great deal of his time at the arsenal at Alexandria, and caused four frigates and several smaller vessels to be built in rapid succession under the superintendence of Monsieur Cerisier, a French engineer, whom he appointed to the head of the dockyard. Two ships of the line were then laid down, and his first three-decker of 110 guns was launched on the 3rd of January, 1831. About the same time he purchased a large frigate of the English, which was sent out under the command of Captain Prissick, R.N., who allowed himself to be persuaded to remain in the pasha's service.

The viceroy continued his warlike preparations with unremitting perseverance. Ibrahim raised a body of cavalry; several new

regiments of infantry were organized on the European system; and in the course of about four years from twenty-six to thirty sail were added to the Egyptian navy. Sanguine of success, the pasha determined to *take* what his master had denied; he had no difficulty in finding a pretext for waging war with Abd-allah, Pasha of Acria, who locked himself up in his stronghold with immense stores and a garrison of 3000 men. Ibrahim may be said to have commenced the siege on the 27th of November, 1831, but being opposed by the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts did not finally take possession of the citadel until the 27th of May following, although he had been joined by the Emir Beschir and the Druses of Lebanon. He was able to depend on very few of his officers; and the expedition cost the viceroy between 4000 and 5000 men. Abd-allah, who on various occasions had made himself obnoxious to the sultan, was now sent a prisoner to the Bosphorus; the sultan became exasperated at the pasha's assurance, and on the 14th of March, 1832, despatched Hussein, whom he had previously employed to destroy the Janizaries (and whom he now appointed Pasha of Egypt in Mohammed Ali's stead), with an army to attack Ibrahim, who, as well as his father, was anathematized by the Sheikh ul Islam. A fleet was also despatched to the Levant. To show his contempt for this, the viceroy induced the Sheriff of Mekka to issue a similar bull or fethwa against the sultan, declaring him the enemy of the Prophet; and Ibrahim immediately took possession of Damascus. He entered the city on the 15th of June, and hearing of the advance of 20,000 Turks proceeded to give them battle; the whole of his available force did not exceed 16,000, nevertheless he completely routed them, taking twelve guns and 3000 prisoners.

On the 17th of July he became master of Aleppo. It is to be feared his soldiers committed great excesses there, for we are assured on good authority that a population of 200,000 was reduced to 75,000. Elated with so large a share of prosperity, the Egyptians engaged the enemy again at Beylau, in the north of Syria, beat them and carried off twenty-five pieces of cannon—subsequently crossing the Taurus from Adana, they encamped in the

plains of Anatolia, having destroyed no less than 70,000 men in two battles. On the 18th of November they entered Konieh; the whole country was panic-struck, and it was confidently expected that Ibrahim would order them to march upon the capital.

He was well aware, however, that the Russians were ready to espouse the cause of the sultan, though the other European powers delayed to interfere. He determined, therefore, to recruit his army, and to wait until he was compelled to defend himself. He might now be said to have conquered Syria. He concentrated a large force at Aleppo and Damascus, and the efforts made by the porte to resist his advance were unsuccessful as his army was far superior to the Turkish forces which were brought against him. Between Konieh and Constantinople there was no apparent check to his victorious troops. He advanced to Broussa, at the foot of the Bithynian Olympus, and only about three forced marches from the capital of the sultan.

The assumptions of the viceroy had been largely encouraged by his French advisers, and he was certainly led to expect that he would eventually have the support of France. Before the revolution which dethroned Charles X. the French government had sent a powerful fleet and a large army to Algiers, and taken possession of the city and the neighbouring country. It was at first represented that only a temporary occupation was intended, one of the objects of which was the suppression of the Algerine pirates; but, having once gained complete possession, and the dey having retired to Italy, it was discovered that as France required African possessions to balance the British interest in India and the West Indies, the territory that had been acquired would become a French dependency. The revolution which ended in the accession of Louis Philippe, made, of course, no change in this respect, and it also soon became evident that the designs of former French governments to maintain a preponderating influence over Egyptian affairs had been transmitted to the ministry of the citizen king.

But the revolution was not well over, Louis Philippe was not yet quite so firmly seated on the throne as to enter with energy into foreign expeditions, and consequently no step was taken by

France to support the extraordinary demands of Mohammed Ali by giving him any definite or material aid, but most that was done, or rather said, by the Frenchmen at Constantinople tended rather to aggravate the impending mischief. England, on the other hand, had just passed through, not a revolution or an insurrection, but a tremendous political crisis. The air was still full of the Reform Bill and of reduced taxation. There was much to attend to at home, and we had already undertaken interpositions in the affairs of Greece and of Portugal, so that it seemed as though our interests in Egypt had been lost sight of.

This was the moment for Russia to offer her assistance to the porte, with the view of obtaining supremacy in European Turkey, and controlling the counsels of the sultan. The czar could send a sufficient force from the ports of the Black Sea, in the time that would be occupied by the despatch of ambassadors and promises of assistance from the other great powers. The sultan seemed to have no prospect of immediate aid except from Russia, and he had reason to fear that the conquering pasha would soon be at his gates. He sent to ask for the help which the czar was waiting to send—help both by sea and land—and on the 20th of February, 1833, a fleet from Sebastopol anchored at the entrance of the Bosphorus.

Admiral Roussin, the French ambassador at the porte, became alarmed, and as he could not prevail on the Turkish government to send the Russian fleet back, he exerted himself to draw up a treaty of peace, which was to be sent to the viceroy, with the threat that unless he accepted it he would see the French and English fleets on the coast of Egypt. The treaty would have left Mohammed Ali in possession of St. Jean d'Acre, Jerusalem, and Tripoli, but he actually demanded the whole of Syria and the adjoining territory of Adana, giving him authority as far as Mount Taurus. He probably thought that the opposition of France and England to the supremacy which would be gained by Russia in an occupation of Asia Minor would enable him to obtain, at all events, more than was offered him; and in this he calculated with his usual cunning. He sent orders to Ibrahim to continue his advance

towards Constantinople; the Sultan Mahmoud applied again to the czar. Before the end of April 15,000 Russians were landed at Scutari, on the Asiatic side of Constantinople, and encamped between the army of Ibrahim Pasha and the Bosphorus, while the Russian fleet stopped the passage of the Bosphorus itself, and another army was coming from the Danube. Then the other powers began to perceive that the plans of the czar must be defeated, and the sultan was naturally anxious to be set free from the probable future menace of the Russian army in his dominions, and from the immediate danger of the victorious army of the Egyptian pasha; since, whatever might be the result of a war, he was certain to have to pay dearly for it both in money and in the loss of territory. It would be easier to deal with Egypt than with Russia, as the latter had been invited to assist him, while the viceroy was his vassal, incurring the displeasure of the great powers of Europe by his contumacy. Again a French ambassador was authorized to treat with Ibrahim, who, being perhaps acquainted with the difficulties of the situation, still held out, and finally his demands were complied with—he received not only Aleppo but Adana—and on the conclusion of the treaty at once recrossed the Taurus, the Russian troops and fleet soon afterwards taking their departure. But Russia had its reward in a treaty made soon afterwards, by which, the czar was to assist the sultan in repressing any future internal aggressions, and in return was to be entitled to demand of the sultan, that under certain circumstances the passage of the Dardanelles should be closed against the ships of all other nations. This was an artful stroke, and aroused much resentment both in France and England; but as they had given no aid to the sultan in his need, and had left the initiative to Russia, they were compelled to endure it.

From whatever point of view it might have been regarded, the treason of Mohammed Ali could not reasonably be endorsed by any firmly constituted government. He was the vassal of the sultan, had been made viceroy in Egypt only by the authority of the Ottoman government, whatever may have been the degree of influence exerted upon them by his own daring and effrontery,

and he had never been acknowledged by any power as holding a position higher than that of the viceroy of the imperial ruler of Turkey and Egypt, and paying (or owing) annual tribute. He had not even the excuse of national impulses, for he was not a native of the country, and had so little sympathy with the national peculiarities or characteristics that it required all his extraordinary astuteness and all the immense improvements which he undoubtedly effected, to overcome the dislike with which his exactions, no less than his innovations, were regarded by the people. At all events, the circumstances under which, as a rebellious governor, he had set himself above his sovereign, and taken advantage of diplomatic complications to demand a large accession of territory, were not considered to be such as to make binding the promise or concession which had been thus illegally extorted from the Sultan Mahmoud. The world had grown older since the Memlook dynasties gained the throne by assassination, and all Europe left them to fight out their quarrels among themselves. If Mohammed Ali's object was to carry modern civilization into Egypt he must submit to the civilized modes of government, and observe the conditions by which alone his authority as the viceroy of the sultan had been recognized. Beside this, it had become of the utmost importance to the great nations of Europe that the government of Egypt in its relation to Turkey should be maintained on a soundly constituted basis.

These were the main arguments in favour of the decision of the sultan to cancel the extorted concession. Other reasons may have been found in the continued plotting of the viceroy and of Ibrahim Pasha to undermine his authority, foment revolts in the provinces, and make attempts which could only be explained by an intention to aim at the imperial power. At anyrate, Mahmoud determined to regain Syria by means of an invading army and the support which he expected to receive from the European powers. No doubt Mohammed Ali and his son were quite aware of the decision, and had been expecting it, and they must also have known, or they very quickly learned, that, though the French in their service continued to encourage them to renewed resistance,

and that there was a great probability of the government of France supporting some of their pretensions, the united determination of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia to support the Ottoman claim would make it impossible for the viceroy to make any long resistance.

The sultan was sick. He was no more than fifty-four years old; but an anxious and tumultuous life, and his recent endeavour to banish cares by dissipation and excess, had enfeebled him. Proclamations were issued without being enforced; divans were summoned; the European ministers were consulted; and troops were levied, marched about, and recalled; but nothing of any consequence was done till the spring of 1839. It appeared as if a decisive blow was then to be struck; for suddenly a movement was made towards the Euphrates. A force amounting to not less than 35,000 men, under the command of Hafiz Pasha (aided by several Prussian officers), assembled on the right bank of the river, and laid siege to about sixty villages. On the 22nd of May they fortified themselves at Nezib; and two days afterwards, falling in with the Egyptian outposts and the division of Suleiman Bey at Ouroul, some desperate skirmishing took place, which became the signal for Ibrahim to advance from Aleppo. Having carefully reconnoitred the enemy, he made a few manœuvres with a view of getting, if possible, into their rear, not liking their position. The two armies were numerically equal; but he could not depend on all his troops; and, feeling that this battle, if well contested, might lead to the overthrow of the sultan's cause, he boldly placed himself between his antagonists and the Euphrates, thinking to prevent the possibility of desertion. Nevertheless, 1800 of his Syrian Guards joined the Turks during the action, and several disaffected corps quitted their ranks, and were dispersed at the very onset. The engagement took place on the 24th of June, 1839; and, as usual, was decided in favour of Ibrahim. The Ottoman army was completely defeated; and those that escaped the carnage were plundered by the wandering tribes, while numbers died in the desert from their wounds or for want of food and water.

Three days after this battle the Sultan Mahmoud died, and his son Abdul Medjid, a sickly youth of sixteen years old, who succeeded him, offered the rebellious pasha full pardon for the past and the hereditary viceroyalty of Egypt if he would return to his allegiance. Mohammed Ali persisted in his demand for the possession of Syria, still relying upon the support of France, if not to accomplish his ambition, at least to secure other concessions or to procure delay, during which new opportunities might arise by foreign political complications.

It happened, however, that he had England to deal with, and England as represented in the foreign office by Lord Palmerston. Having once determined to interpose, our government was on this occasion not inclined to be dilatory, especially as the viceroy had been still further put out of court by the fact that the Turkish lord high admiral or capitan pasha, instead of preparing to attack the forts in Syria, sailed his fleet through the Dardanelles, but took it to Alexandria, where he delivered it up to Mohammed Ali, in return, it was believed, for an enormous bribe. The five great European powers then informed the porte that they intended to meet to discuss and settle the embarrassed question, and a conference was held in London early in 1840, in which the representatives of the powers met that they might bring matters to a definite understanding. This settlement, which was afterwards known as the Brunnow convention, after M. le Baron Brunnow, the able minister from the court of St. Petersburg, was not come to without the delay on which perhaps Mohammed Ali had counted, and, as he expected, it was France that stood in the way of a settlement.

Of course the first demand was that he should restore the Turkish fleet, and then there arose a rumour that England, Austria, and Russia had agreed that he should be compelled immediately to evacuate Syria before any proposition could be entertained with regard to his retaining hereditary authority over any part of Syria or Egypt.

Mohammed Ali at once prepared to resist. He daily inspected the Turco-Egyptian fleet, and, it was said, became highly popular with the Turkish officers and seamen. A levy of troops *en masse*

was ordered. The workmen in factories and industrial workshops in Cairo were formed into a militia and drilled, and it was said that the entire body of men in that city amounted to 30,000.

Ibrahim Pasha was still in command of the army in Syria, and to make that army effective both Egypt and Syria had been drained of effective men. It appeared as though Mohammed intended to make a determined fight if force should be employed against him, for he had these Syrian troops amounting to 70,000 men, 36,000 men on board the squadron capable of service either by sea or land, and upwards of 50,000 Bedouin Arabs, beside a large number of irregulars such as some of those to whom our army in the Soudan has been lately opposed.

The conference in London dragged its slow length along month after month. Early in March the young sultan at Constantinople had addressed to his council and the high functionaries of the empire a speech modelled after the fashion of those delivered by constitutional sovereigns. The council and ministers had been reorganized the year before, and the speech declared that since that time every subject brought before them had been discussed freely and impartially, that the whole system of finance was being reformed, that judges paid by adequate fixed salaries had been appointed, and the police of the country had been placed on a more efficient footing. An anxious desire was expressed to put an end to abuses and to promote a general reform. An address was adopted by the council accepting and reiterating these assurances, and to this the sultan affixed his endorsement, in which he stated his intention to present himself before the council at the commencement of each year, for the purpose of making known his opinions on public affairs.

While these assurances were being made in Constantinople there were imminent disturbances in some parts of the territory claimed by Mohammed Ali. On the 27th of May a violent insurrection broke out at Lebanon, in Syria, among the Druses and Christians against the emir and the Egyptian government. The discontent already existing because of the taxes exacted by Mohammed and the conscription for the army with which he

prepared to oppose the sultan, had prepared for the revolt, and the immediate or pretended occasion for it was an order which he issued to the emir to take away the arms which had formerly been distributed among the Druses and Christians of the mountains for their defence. This order, the insurgents alleged, was to prevent them from resisting future extortionate demands.

The main obstacle to the settlement of the question by the conference of the five powers in London, was the continued opposition of France and the persuasion of Mohammed Ali, that he had only to prolong his resistance till substantial aid from France would reach him. All that did reach him were vague hints of support, which he soon had reason to doubt, and at last, instead even of that "moral support" which he had been promised, he had to smother his wrath at the receipt of a message which amounted to little more than that France would continue to regard him with friendly sentiments, if he would submit to the demands which he had resisted, under the impression that he had the French government for his powerful ally.

Almost immediately after the meeting of the conference in London, the French representative announced that he could not agree to the terms proposed for settling the affairs of the Levant. Upon this Lord Palmerston politely, but in unmistakable terms, replied that though the non-concurrence of France was to be deeply regretted, as the other powers had agreed on the terms, it might be possible to settle the questions without France continuing to give her practical aid, though the conference would still hope for her moral support.

It was this which led to the false confidence of the viceroy. France could not have her own way, and therefore encouraged Mohammed Ali to continue to resist, much to his injury, as he afterwards discovered.

The French minister had, in fact, declared that no objection was offered to the arrangements proposed to be made with Mohammed Ali, provided that Mohammed consented to them, but that considerations of various kinds made it impossible for the French government to join in coercive measures against the

viceroy. This was a significant declaration, and was about as trustworthy as a circular message which was despatched a few days after by Mohammed Ali to all the pashas of the empire, intimating that the intrigues of Khusrouf Pasha were the cause of the attack on his troops by the army of the sultan. That on learning the accession of Abdul Medjid he (Mohammed) had ordered Ibrahim not to follow up his advantages: that on hearing of the appointment of Khusrouf as vizier he felt convinced that the ascendency of that minister must be destructive to the empire: that Achmet, the capitan pasha, was of the same opinion, and acted upon it by keeping his fleet out of the power of Khusrouf and uniting it with the fleet of Alexandria, in order that the joint fleets might be in a position to serve the sovereign and the nation. The circular also said that Mohammed Ali had received the capitan pasha with distinction, had written to Khusrouf Pasha urging him to send in his resignation, and had also written to the mother and aunt of the sultan, and to the sheikh ul Islam, and Habil Pasha, entreating them to co-operate for the removal of the vizier in order to save the country. This message is a very suggestive example of the skill of the viceroy in putting a plausible construction on acts, of the treachery of which there could be no doubt, though it was, of course, probable that the advice of the vizier coincided with the determination of the Sultan Mahmoud to endeavour to recover Syria. Six of Mohammed's couriers, with the circular message in their possession, were seized and detained.

The treaty between the four powers was signed. France was left out of it, and refused to consent to hostilities. That the convention should have been made without them incensed the French ministry. While Marshal Soult was at the head of affairs the military element made a violent demonstration of anger —when he gave place to Thiers aggressive declarations increased and violent denunciations were expressed. Diplomatic language amidst a multiplicity of notes and despatches represented that in the opinion of France the "prince vassal" (Mohammed Ali), having succeeded in establishing a firm rule in two provinces, ought now to be considered an essential and necessary part of

the Ottoman Empire, and also that the deposition of the viceroy if put in force would be a blow given to the general equilibrium. "The question of the limits which ought to be established in Syria in order to divide the possessions of the sultan from those of the Viceroy of Egypt, might with safety be left to the chances of the war now actually in progress, but France cannot prevail upon herself to abandon to such a chance the existence of Mohammed Ali as prince vassal of the empire. Whatever territorial limits may ultimately separate the two powers by the fortune of war, their continued dual existence is necessary to Europe, and France cannot consent to admit the suppression of either the one or the other;" and so on.

There is no telling what might have happened if Thiers had remained at the head of the French government. It came out that he was called upon to resign because of warlike language that had been put into the king's speech for the opening of the chamber. M. Guizot was called upon to form a ministry, and Thiers went into opposition, when it appeared that he had been ready to resent the insult passed upon France by the concurrence of the other powers in a treaty which she had refused to endorse. He would have demanded a modification of the treaty, and if the rest of Europe had said, If you do not consent to do a thing we will do it without you, he would have gone to war with the rest of Europe. Words and tempers ran high in the French assembly. In the opposition something was actually said about France herself taking possession of Turkey. Fortunately there were calmer tempers and cooler heads in the majority. Lamartine had said that the proposition to occupy Egypt and Syria would naturally never be consented to by England, nor was it reasonable it should be, as the demand for the occupation of the high-road to India would cause another European war. Marshal Bugeaud, too, opposed the war fever in a speech of great common sense. Still there could be no doubt that the king, the ministry, and the nation were aroused to a remarkable pitch of anger, and at one time it seemed as though war would actually be declared, for military preparations were set on foot. Mohammed Ali, seeing France

in this temper, and supposing that mutual distrust would keep the other powers from commencing hostilities against him, continued to hold out. He had an army of 30,000 men, and the combined fleets, beside which the season was approaching when the African coast would be too dangerous for the operations of an invasion.

But there were other forces with which the French government had to count in reckoning upon the chances of European war. Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, afterwards Napoleon III., had made his attempt to rouse adherents in France. The body of the Emperor Napoleon I. was about to be brought from St. Helena to the Invalides; there was widely spread disaffection against the government, and numerous secret societies gave sinister evidence that they were in active operation. Ordinances were issued for mobilizing the national guard, immensely increasing the navy, and making such provisions as would indicate a hostile attitude, and these were hailed with acclamation; but it was discovered that Paris itself was unprotected against an invader, and it was proposed to surround it with fortifications. The objects of the military preparations were not quite clear, and the warlike disposition, fomented by the successes against Abd-el-Kader and his Arab forces at Milianah, in Algeria, caused further excitement.

The treaty which had been effected between the four European powers was put in execution, and Mohammed Ali was offered the choice of retaining Egypt as a hereditary pashalik, with the government of Acre during his own lifetime, on condition of his submitting within ten days. If he did not decide within that time he would have no option but to retain Egypt alone; while after twenty days, hostilities would be at once commenced against him.

The pasha was obstinate to the last, and refused all terms; but there was to be no more temporizing on the part of the western powers. The treaty between the four powers was ratified on the 15th of September, 1840, and by the beginning of October a British fleet, under the command of Commodore Sir Charles Napier, aided by Austrian naval and land forces, reduced the city of Beyrout, on the Syrian coast, and captured the Egyptian fleet. There was tremendous excitement in Paris at the intelligence, the

ministry was denounced, the Marseillaise was called for and sung at the theatres on the demand of the audiences, and there was a general warlike outcry. The government was alarmed, military preparations appeared to be pushed on, and large additions were made to the regular army.

It was futile, however, for France to persist in the appearance of supporting Mohammed Ali, who, as Lord Palmerston pointed out, was to be dealt with, not in opposition to his being a "prince vassal," but because he *was* a vassal in rebellion, and claiming imperial rights against his master and sovereign. Mohammed himself saw that it was useless any longer to delay because of the representations of his advisers that the French government would support him. More important to him were the strong assurances of the English that though the British government demanded his submission, it would aid him in retaining the hereditary pashalik of Egypt. This representation, he afterwards found, was in no degree exaggerated.

His army was now compelled to retreat on St. Jean d'Acre. An insurrection against him was spreading all over Syria, among the people who had suffered from his oppressions and those of the military rule of Ibrahim. The chief of the Druses of Lebanon sided with the allies.

On the 29th of October M. Thiers was obliged to resign the ministry of foreign affairs in France, and M. Guizot succeeded him, and immediately ventured to show a pacific policy and a friendly disposition towards England. He desired to conciliate rather than to defy and denounce the other powers of Europe; and it was time that this policy should have been adopted, for the commercial and financial credit of France was already suffering, and new credits had to be opened, to the detriment of the exchequer. Guizot at once declared that he should accept the decision of the other powers against the Viceroy of Egypt without any material opposition from France.

By that time the hopes of Mohammed were at an end, so far as Syria was concerned; the terrific bombardment of St. Jean d'Acre had destroyed it in less than four hours. The Egyptians lost

more than 2000 men, killed and wounded; while the British counted only twelve killed and forty-two wounded. The British fleet was threatening to open fire on Alexandria, when, on the 27th of November, Mohammed Ali—the remnant of his army having left Syria—accepted the terms offered him, and signed a convention, by which he restored the Turkish fleet, and relinquished possession of Syria on the condition that the pashalik of Egypt should be conferred on him and his hereditary successors as tributaries of the sublime porte.

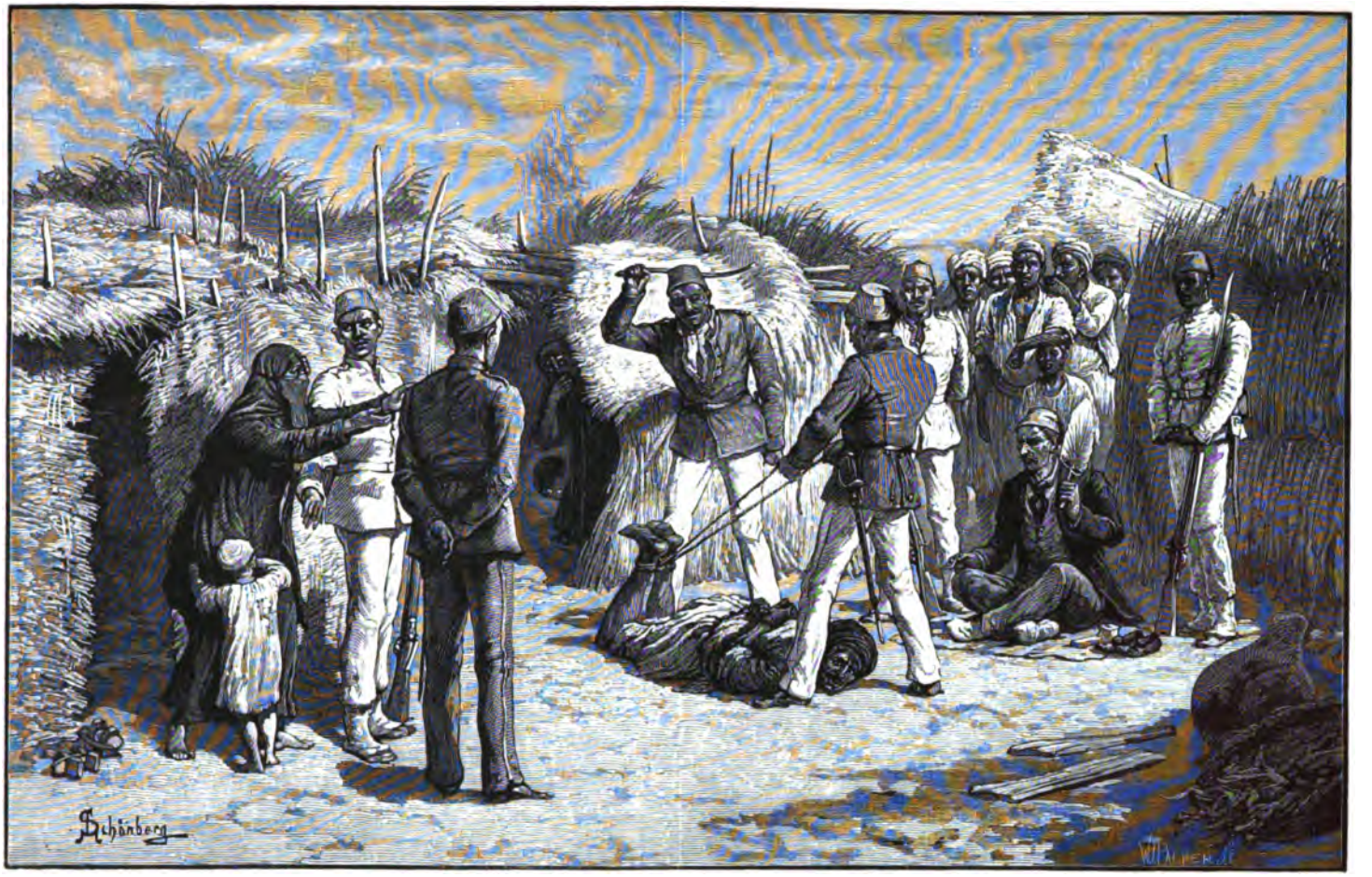
The story of the revolt of the viceroy, of the attitude of France, and of the complication which brought about this European interposition in the affairs of Egypt will be seen to have no little significance in relation to the events depicted in subsequent pages of this history.

CHAPTER II.

Enterprise of the Pasha. Foreigners in Egypt. Progress of Agriculture. Land Tenure. Oppression of the People. Fellaheen. Population. Public Works. Education. Death of Mohammed Ali. Ibrahim. Abbas Pasha. Assassination. Said Pasha. The Burden of Egypt. Debt. The Slave-trade. Exploration of the Nile. Railways. Ismail the Borrower. Attempts to Suppress the Slave-trade. Sir S. Baker. Gordon Governor-general. The Suez Canal. The Strange Story of Egyptian Finance.

Mohammed Ali was called a tyrant and an oppressor, and he deserved both titles; but it must be remembered that he became the ruler of a country where tyranny and oppression had for ages been the governing forces. Pictured records on the monuments are the representations of slavery, rapacious taxation, and enforced labour. Those institutions had been maintained through various dynasties, and had survived them all when the Albanian adventurer, who had defied his sovereign, was placed securely in his seat by a convention of the powers of Europe. The land was held by its cultivators on a feudal tenure of the worst kind, the taxes consisting of a large proportion of the produce of the soil, the value of which was fixed by the ruler or his subordinate officers, who were empowered to chastise reluctant peasants with the *kourbash*, a whip made of hippopotamus hide or of a thick sinew, and applied to the soles of the feet. This method of tax collecting was not invented by the pasha, and after a time he was not only able but willing to insist on some discrimination being exercised by his subordinates, so that rough justice, which has been said to be synonymous with revenge, was sometimes exercised upon local officers who were guilty of oppression for the purpose of securing excessive imposts, out of which they could take a percentage for themselves. The Egyptian fellahs were no worse off than other oriental or even some European tillers of the soil, though every product of their fields, from the date-tree to the patch of maize or millet, belonged less to themselves than to the pasha, inasmuch as he demanded the first gathering from the crops.

When the Syrian war was over, however, and Mohammed set



COLLECTING TAXES FROM A FELLAH BY THE AID OF KOURBASH.

SCENE IN A VILLAGE ON MANZALEH LAKE.

BLACKIE & SON: LONDON, GLASGOW, AND EDINBURGH

himself seriously to raise the condition of Egypt, it could not be denied that he went to work in earnest; and he succeeded. The recruiting of his armies had retarded the progress of agriculture by removing the labourers from the fields, but the discipline which he introduced and the protection that he was enabled to give to the people, relieved the country from the raids of bands of robbers, and made it comparatively safe for travellers through any part of his dominions, where only a few years before they could only have ventured to make a journey with a large and well-armed escort. He carried out numerous public works, buildings, bridges, arsenals, canals for supplying water and irrigating the land; and much suffering was endured by the labourers, men and women, who were compelled to join the gangs for removing the soft earth and heaping up the embankments, or for making bricks and hewing stones, but the results were of far greater importance than the construction of a vast mausoleum or a stupendous pyramid. The future civilization and prosperity of the country was the aim of this semi-barbarous ruler, who had lived to middle age without having learnt to read, and, now that he had reached threescore years and ten, had succeeded in re-establishing on a modern basis, schools which had been founded by the Caliphs, and had been suffered to decline and to become useless because of the obstinate antipathy of the Turks to the introduction of European improvements and discoveries, and the teaching of modern science.

Mohammed Ali, however, had at an earlier date sent several young men and boys to France to be instructed, and though their attainments were of rather a superficial kind, and they mostly returned to find that they were incapable of reducing their accomplishments to practice in the direction of public works or in the advancement of learning, they at least added to the number of the unprejudiced, and were ready to appreciate the value of the improvements which the pasha, with the assistance of European inventors, contractors, and craftsmen, was rapidly promoting.

His impatient eagerness to secure European assistants, however, led to one evil result, the effects of which have been of serious import in the later history of Egypt, and had a direct

influence in quite recent events. The rewards which appeared to be waiting for anyone who could obtain a commission from the pasha tempted a number of needy, ignorant, and unscrupulous adventurers. For some time before he had seriously commenced a regular reformation, Egypt had become the happy hunting-ground of many adventurers from Europe. As early as 1836 he was compelled to issue a decree in consequence of the disputes which were continually arising between such men and the authorities. The consuls were unable to settle these quarrels, and a number of men were sent out of the country on account of their violent conduct. The proclamation ordered that "every individual coming to Egypt for the purpose of establishing himself will be required, on his first arrival, to show that he has the means of existence, and to exhibit to the local government a guarantee from among the principal inhabitants of the country, who will be responsible for his moral conduct." This rule was also to be observed by everyone already established; and a third clause ordained that every captain of a vessel, bringing as passengers persons unable to give the securities required should be obliged at his own risk to convey them back to Europe. How far such a decree was, or could be, carried out, it would be difficult to say—for, assuredly, a good many incompetent, if not absolutely destitute, people continued to find their way to Alexandria and Cairo. It was no doubt extremely galling to those of the pasha's officers who were men of principle to find themselves perpetually associated with a set of adventurers who had neither manners nor morals. But these gentry did not always reap the reward which they had anticipated, and they, as well as their more conscientious colleagues, were often placed in an awkward position. A visitor to Egypt at that time wrote:—

"These men took every advantage in their power, did nothing, and were, many of them, thoroughly ignorant of their profession. If, however, the pasha was deceived by them, it is only fair to acknowledge that they also had been deceived by him; for it is notorious that he does not make good his promises; nothing that he says can be depended on. He was wont to offer largely to Europeans to induce them to come to Egypt; he raised their

expectations but did not satisfy their demands. He would put them off from time to time, under false pretences, and was always in arrears. The same system is still pursued. Those who would serve him faithfully are not appreciated, and they soon leave him in disgust, for they are not only badly paid, but insulted by those with whom they are compelled to associate. In fact, he has introduced such a medley of nations, languages, and character, that his service is anything but agreeable. It is, moreover, the most difficult thing imaginable to get any business done, even when people *are* disposed to work; for he has so many irons in the fire, and possesses such a prolific imagination, that whatever he hears of he is anxious to adopt, without considering how it is to be accomplished."

Mohammed Ali did not, till towards the end of his life, recognize that the real riches of Egypt consisted of its agricultural produce. The greater number of the youths were taken from many villages to fill the ranks of the pasha's army. Mr. St. John was informed that in a town on the Nile there remained twelve women to one man, and the cultivation of the sugar-cane had been abandoned for want of hands. Egypt became so depopulated that the fields could not be properly cultivated, and the government seized Arabs and dragged them to the tillage bound together two by two like galley slaves. But another reason for this dearth was the abandonment of the land by the former labourers, because the tenure by which it was held and the exactions of tax collectors had made its cultivation unproductive of any benefit to the actual tiller of the soil.

It is not necessary, even if space would permit, to trace the history of the system of land tenure in Egypt. The principle that the land was the property of the state was maintained by the Ottoman Turks under Sultans Selim and Suleyman after the conquest of the country; but for the purpose of facilitating the collection of the revenue, villages were conceded to tenants of the state (multazim), who were responsible for the payment of the amount of taxes at which the land was assessed, and themselves were permitted to levy a certain amount of taxes for their own benefit,

and to occupy a portion of the land. The government reserved authority to take back the land to itself at pleasure, but this power was seldom exercised, and the intermediate owner was permitted to bequeath, and in some cases to sell, the rights which he had acquired. The occupiers of holdings could also bequeath their holdings to their families, but they had no power either to sell or to abandon the land which they occupied; and if any of them died without heirs to whom the land would pass in order of succession, the multazim or feudal lord was obliged to find a tenant for it. The occupation and cultivation of the land thus became compulsory, and the administration of the land revenue was intrusted to a high official, the Defterdâr.

Under the Memlooks regular laws and a definite system of taxation gave place to an oppression all the more harassing because is was fitful, and depended on the whims or sudden needs of the rulers.

Mohammed Ali, after the destruction of the Memlooks, changed the system of land tenure by abolishing the multazims or lords of the villages, and making himself the immediate landlord and absolute controller of the soil. Had he been in the prime of life when he settled down, after relinquishing his ambitious schemes, he might have adopted some further laws after recognizing the enormous importance of promoting agriculture as the staple industry of the country; but he was an old man, and had already been made to feel that he must devote his remaining energies to securing the succession of the viceroyalty to his heirs.

The work of restoring the land to cultivation was also too great for him fully to accomplish. As we have seen, the country had in many parts been almost depopulated by the enormous drafts of men for the army and by the devastations of sickness. The soil was still fertile, the people industrious and willing, often eager, to return to the pacific occupation of agriculture, but considerable areas of land had ceased to be under cultivation, or had become unproductive through the loss of cattle by the murrain, and because of the want of means to maintain the small canals and simple means of fertilization on which the profitable cultivation depended.

The peasants of these villages were utterly destitute of the money that would restore their primitive works, and, therefore, leases for a certain period were granted to persons possessing sufficient capital, who were only called upon to pay the government a reduced sum as assessment. This was, in fact, a partial return to the old system, and in many cases, where villages were almost barren and their inhabitants destitute, though they were not permitted to abandon the land, the old tenure was restored with very little difference—the lordship of the land being granted to officers of state or wealthy persons, who became responsible for the payment of the taxes, and were able to assist the people to resume the tillage of the soil.

It can scarcely be wondered at that the viceroy should have made some of the largest and most important of these grants to members of his own family for the purpose of providing for their maintenance, and this plan has in fact been followed by successive pashas, but not without giving rise to some complications. It may be mentioned here that Abbas Pasha, who virtually succeeded Mohammed Ali, gave his son such a large landed property, and the grants represented such an extent of territory, that Said Pasha, his successor to the viceroyalty, was obliged to insist on the restoration to the government of all lands which had been thus held under the tenure of a multazim, for, as he not unreasonably declared, if the viceroy were empowered to make absolute grants of territory to members of his family, he would be able virtually to make over the whole country to any of them, leaving nothing but the mere title for the hereditary successor to the viceroyalty.

It may well be understood that considerable difficulties still prevented the complete development of agriculture even in the reclaimed villages. The pasha monopolized nearly all the productions of the soil and many of the most necessary articles which passed through the country. Thus the peasant, taxed by government agents or by proprietors whose interest it was to keep on good terms with the pasha, had to suffer the worst inflictions both of direct and indirect taxation. Or in other words, what should have been indirect taxation was in many cases made into a com-

pulsory impost. As an instance: the salt tax was one which pressed heavily on the people, and the inhabitants of several villages, oppressed with the burdens laid upon them, determined to forego the use of salt for a time except as an occasional luxury. This kind of resistance would not have been adopted had the tax not been increased till it became almost unbearable, for the Egyptians are great consumers of salt. Of course their abstinence caused some deficiency in the revenue, and for a short time the viceroy did not quite know how to meet this declaration of a right to abstain, which, of course, was a defiance of authority and could not be permitted. The remedy was easy. While the fellahs were congratulating themselves on the probable success of their plan for obtaining relief from the excessive impost, a number of government boats were observed to be mooring under the villages, and these were presently unladen and their freight piled upon the ground. An officer then demanded to see the Sheikh el Beled, and informed him that his highness the viceroy, having ascertained the quantity of salt formerly consumed, had forwarded the proper supply, and that he (the sheikh) would be held responsible for payment to the government.

Of course the monopolies of the pasha were subject to losses to the revenue because of the difficulty of discovering, among the Turks, honest and trustworthy agents, and the sale of merchandise was regulated to a great extent by a system of bribery between merchants and the officers who sold the produce which had been collected by the peasants and delivered at the different *shoonahs* or warehouses, established in the several towns and provinces in such numbers as to make it unnecessary to transport the commodities to any great distance from the place where they were produced. When they were delivered at the *shoonah* the articles were weighed or measured and an order on the treasury given for the money, the price having been previously fixed by the council. The order was received back from the peasant, at its full value, in payment of taxes, but there was usually so much delay in obtaining the balance that he was induced to sell it for a discount of from twenty to thirty per cent, that he might not have to apply to the



FELLAHEEN BRINGING THEIR PRODUCE TO A SHOONAH OR GOVERNMENT WAREHOUSE, IN PAYMENT OF TAXES.

BLACKIE & SON: LONDON, GLASGOW, AND EDINBURGH.

treasury for it and be kept waiting. From the warehouses the goods were sent down to Alexandria as they were wanted, and there distributed among the different merchants, principally English, French, Italian, Greek, and Armenian. The introduction of olive-trees and *Cassia Fistula*, as well as other valuable trees and plants, was the result of the observations of Ibrahim Pasha in the Morea, and as we have already seen, the great fertility of the soil, the succession and immense variety of crops of cereals, pulse, fruits, and vegetables sufficed to make Egypt, under improved cultivation, perhaps the most productive country in the world.

But though the method of taxation was intelligible and impartial in its operation, and, therefore, to be preferred to the violent and cruel exactions of the Memlooks, who would pass through the country with a troop of horsemen seizing cattle, sheep, or grain, stripping the villagers, and frequently carrying off their women and children to slavery or worse, the burden placed on Egypt by Mohammed Ali was a heavy one. The organization which gave a degree of security and operated with impartiality, enabled the pasha greatly to increase the general imposts. The last coin which could be wrung from the fellah without reducing him to absolute beggary was demanded; while he was no longer subject to such constant and iniquitous exactions as those under which he had formerly suffered, he was systematically impoverished and depressed. It is perhaps impossible to buy law and order too dearly, and the peasantry, feeling the overwhelming burden, and yet with a sense of the blessing of not being subject to the wild raids, cruelties, and extortions that characterized their former oppressors, forbore to complain very loudly, or perhaps feared that such complaints might bring back their former sufferings. The feeling of security was new to them then. Their complaints have been both loud and deep since that time, and not without reason, though their condition was certainly improved a few years ago. Not contented with increasing taxation, Mohammed Ali contrived to considerably reduce the size of the feddān or Egyptian acre, so that the owner of 200 acres suddenly, and without knowing it, became possessor of 210, and

had to pay the taxes on that number. In the time of the Memlook beys the ordinary taxation had not exceeded, in average amount, from fourteen to eighteen piastres an acre in the inferior, and twenty-seven piastres in the most fertile districts. Under Mohammed Ali the taxation had nearly doubled, and from the fields around Cairo and the rice grounds of the Delta forty and sixty piastres was respectively levied.[1]

Of course the want of discrimination in taxing the poor lands and the already impoverished peasantry at about an equal rate all round (the value of land being computed according to its proximity to a large city) produced disastrous results in many cases. Little or no regard was had to the fertility of the soil, and consequently to the value of the productions in various districts. In the district of Upper Egypt several hundred feddāns of inferior land were divided among the peasantry in proportion to their supposed means of cultivating them, and these they were compelled to till and tend for the purpose of paying the land tax, which frequently consumed nearly the whole produce. Worse still, the pasha was accused, not only of monopolizing trade and every article of produce, but of using this power to maintain an artificial scarcity, and, therefore, enhance the price, so that wheat purchased by the government in Upper Egypt was sold at Cairo for above four times its cost, and the price of common articles of food, like beans and millet, was raised in proportion.

St. John, who in 1834 wrote an account of his travels in Egypt under the rule of Mohammed Ali, observes that travellers appear not to have remarked the extraordinary family likeness discernible in the fellahs, who, he says, seem to have been all cast in the same mould; and he acutely remarks that this striking resemblance, which exists in character and manners no less than in features, probably prevailed also among the ancient Egyptians; hence that monotony observable in their sculptures and paintings. Despotism he regards as the primary cause of this phenomenon, for the multitude, all reduced to nearly the same level, urged by the same wants, engaged in the same pursuits, actuated by the same passions

[1] The feddān was $1\frac{1}{10}$ English acre before being reduced; the piastre about $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ English.

through a long succession of ages, necessarily assimilate. Poverty depriving them of all pretensions to free agency, they are universally cringing, trembling, dissimulating. Fear is their habitual passion. Credulous, ignorant, superstitious, no man has the originality to be a heretic. In religion, morals, manners, and opinions the son treads servilely in the footsteps of his father, without inquiry, without reflection, nay even without the consciousness that nature has endowed him with the power to do otherwise. The fellah marries and begets children, who are allowed to run naked about the villages until the age of puberty; he then throws them a rag to bind about their loins; they begin to labour, become masters of a few piastres, and marrying in their turn run the same career as their parents. Both men and women, he affirms, are extremely profligate: the men inconstant, the women false and sensual.

The taxation of artisans, public officers, artisans' servants and employés, consisted of the demand for a month's stipend or income per annum, and the house tax consisted of one month's rent per annum assessed to the proprietor, whether the premises were occupied or not; which was scarcely less equitable than the plan of imposing a house tax on the tenant in addition to heavy rates which are computed on the basis of his rental, that rental being fixed, so far as assessment for taxation is concerned, by the authorities who themselves make the imposition of the rates.

These particulars of the agricultural condition of the country and the mode of taxation will be found to illustrate the subsequent history of European intervention in the financial concerns of Egypt; and it will be noticed that the system laid down by Mohammed Ali, though the whole scheme of land tenure was altered and the monopolies were relinquished by Said Pasha, had an abiding effect on the condition of the people. Whatever may have been subsequent improvements, in effect the astute old viceroy succeeded in laying the foundations of an independent government, and of what might have been made a prosperous national life. His view was comprehensive, his ambition powerful, and his ability extraordinary. In the cultivable country of Egypt

proper, extending for about 115,200 square miles (including the Nile bed and its islands), there were about 10,000 square miles watered by the river; but the increased irrigation soon extended the surface under tillage, and the institution of public works, and above all of colleges and technical schools by Mohammed Ali, laid the foundation of many more recent improvements in agriculture and in industrial arts and sciences. The institutions for public instruction, though they had many imperfections, were, at anyrate, the foundation of all the educational establishments now in operation. The college of Kasserlyne, on the right bank of the El-Rhondah Canal, was a kind of preparatory school for 1000 to 1200 youths of promising ability selected to be trained for various departments under government. They were fed and clothed by the state, that is by the viceroy, and provided with books, stationery, and pocket-money—an extension of free state education which is even now unusual in any other country. But as all the pupils practically became the property of the viceroy, and were to be at his disposal in whatever direction he might require their services, they were entirely dependent on his bounty. This college soon became disorganized. Everything was supposed to be regulated by strict discipline, which meant the application of the kourbash as a punishment; but the European professors having been dismissed and the senior pupils being set to teach the others, the amount of study soon diminished, the fine library of 12,000 volumes (chiefly French and Italian) became neglected, and the whole college became a scene of confusion, immorality, and sickness.

The School of Cadets, which was established at a former palace of Toussoon Pasha a little to the north of Ghizeh, was far more successful, for there Turks, Europeans, and Circassians were taught military engineering, drawing, fortification, horsemanship, and European and Oriental languages. There was also a school of artillery at Toura, where the pupils were taught the art of gunnery, mathematics, and languages; a school of engineers at Khanka for instruction in surveying, modelling, drawing, mining, and fortification; and a naval school in the arsenal at Alexandria

to teach shipbuilding and navigation, while every youth on board the Egyptian navy received some practical instruction in seamanship.

One of the most important institutions, however, was the School of Medicine, founded at Abou Zabel, near Cairo, with a hospital for receiving 600 patients, with a residence for professors and pupils separated from the hospital by a fine esplanade planted with orange-trees, sycamores, mimosas, and palms. In this college there was special instruction for women, who were taught obstetric surgery.

Thus it will be seen, not only that Mohammed Ali thoroughly appreciated the advantages which Europeans had derived from education, but that he was also anxious to hasten the advance of his country by the establishment of schools of various kinds, in some respects with provisions in advance of those to be found in European capitals. Nor did he neglect the consideration of the value of accomplishments, for an Academy of Music was founded at Cairo, where French and German professors instructed the pupils, particularly in instrumental music. Every ship in the navy was also provided with a band. The other schools or colleges were for teaching agriculture and veterinary surgery, the former including the art of irrigation, hydraulics, boring for water, and making roads.

It may be asked how it is that the people of Egypt should apparently have derived so little benefit from these institutions as to be obliged to employ foreigners in their larger engineering and other operations, and to show so little advance in the arts and sciences; but it must be remembered that not half a century has elapsed since Mohammed Ali commenced the development of Egyptian education; that some of the schools and colleges became disorganized, or never were properly provided with an efficient staff of competent teachers; that the government of the country has undergone many vicissitudes, and has been under the pressure of debt and of financial difficulties; while, above all, must be taken into account the amount of ignorance, superstition, obstinate resistance to innovation, and extreme indolence by which the people themselves are greatly characterized.

Another reason for failure was the impetuous determination of the viceroy to hasten the process of instruction and its reduction to practice. Himself uneducated, he seemed to have formed an idea that it only needed the establishment of schools, the appointment of teachers, and the application of a system resembling that of the schools of France and England to secure immediate results. He therefore sent youths to England and France to be taught, and on their return took it for granted that they were competent to fill important positions; or he drafted to the various special schools, pupils from the General College at Kasserlyne, which was itself demoralized and without efficient teachers. Mohammed Pasha had not time to obtain the results which he himself desired to see; and his hurry to raise the country to a position of prosperity and enlightenment, for a time defeated its own object, especially as he was not scrupulous as to the means he took for enforcing his views. He was eager to be on a level with Europeans, and set about imitating them without considering that many of the public works and institutions of which he had heard were the outcome of generations of experiments and improvements. It was much the same with his efforts (successful as some of them were) to develop manufactures, for which he neglected the more immediate and certain advantages of agriculture. A whole district of Cairo was cleared of vile dens and filthy and degraded inhabitants for the erection of cotton mills, factories, and magazines, and the undertaking was not altogether unsuccessful; but there, as elsewhere, the system of forced labour was adopted, and during the Syrian campaigns the factories were idle because the hands were driven into the ranks of the army. The Nubians who were employed in the mills at Cairo and elsewhere succumbed to disease brought about by the effects of the confined atmosphere and the conditions of life upon people who had been accustomed to breathe the pure and rarefied air of the desert. The fellahs, who were compelled to work by overseers who oppressed them cruelly, and lamed them with the punishment of the kourbash, frequently maimed themselves and sometimes committed suicide rather than toil in what was a prison-house of labour. The mills were frequently set

on fire, the machinery was found to be almost useless during the period when the fine sand was blown into every nook and cranny, and filled the cogs and cranks with grit, and the peculations of overseers, added to the carelessness and ignorance of the workmen, made the undertaking troublesome and unprofitable; so that a quantity of machinery was left unused to grow rusty, and several factories were abandoned to ruin.

The establishment of manufactories by Mohammed Ali was very remarkable, however—sugar and rum, gunpowder, refined saltpetre, chemicals, leather from the tanneries at old Cairo, guns and gun-carriages from the foundries, copper from the mills, fire-works and rockets, &c.; silk, ropes from the rope-works at Alexandria, muskets and small-arms, cloth, printed calico, iron from a splendid foundry conducted by Galloway Bey, besides the product of weaving by power-looms, dyeing-works, rice-mills, corn-mills, glass-houses, an enormous number of forges, and a paper-mill, attested his activity, and the printing-office at Boulak was used to produce books for the schools and colleges, and the newspaper which he started to maintain his views.

The viceroy also established a tribunal of commerce, resembling a court of equity, composed of the representatives of different nations, and intended to emancipate the operations of trade from the old restrictive Mohammedan laws. But, of course, the advantages gained were, to a great extent, prevented from benefiting the community because of the monopoly claimed by the viceroy himself over almost every profitable commodity.

The character of Mohammed Ali, and the changes and improvements which he designed, and many of which he lived to accomplish, may be said to have restored Egypt to a national position. It cannot be denied that the remains of barbarism were still numerous and striking, and it must be remembered that the pasha had, as it were, fought his way to civilization, and a strong will, a vast ambition, united to native shrewdness and ability almost amounting to genius, enabled him to make use of every opportunity for furthering his ends, and thereby, as he conceived, advancing the interests of the country, over which he

held almost despotic rule. It should be distinctly borne in mind when we are considering the affairs of Egypt, the method of its government and the characteristics of its people, that oriental nations regard many questions from an entirely different point of view from that which we naturally assume; and that if they are prejudiced in favour of their own institutions, there is often as much prejudice in our insisting to judge them only in relation to our own notions, derived from a condition of society which, to the Eastern mind, offers no attractions and does not commend itself as a model for imitation, either on the score of expediency or national morality. Taking him altogether the viceroy was far superior in humanity, justice, and intelligence to the sultan, or to his Turkish subordinates. Many of the punishments for offences against the law were, and still are, severe and even cruel, and were executed by barbarous methods; but it may be believed that severity and a striking demonstration of authority and the power of punishing is necessary among peoples in a certain stage of civilization, which often displays the vices both of the Old and the New World. Above all, it should be strictly kept in view that the time is not so very long past when barbarous punishments, legislative oppression, the possibility of purchased immunities and privileges for the wealthy, the advocacy of slavery, and the denial of political and almost of social rights to the poor and the weak, existed in this country, and with the disadvantage that, while poverty and misery bore aspects at least as sordid, and were suffered under conditions almost as degrading as may have been seen among the Egyptian peasantry or the lower class of the population in the villages of the Nile or the streets of Cairo, they were not associated with the "barbaric" splendour, the rich profusion of colour, the gorgeous attire, the jewelled ornaments, the superb adornments of arms and utensils, the luxury and magnificence (often contrasting with meanness and bareness), which distinguished the palaces of the rulers, and above all, the brilliant sky, the dazzling light, and the luxurious climate which make the Egyptian landscape and the lovely groves and gardens in the vicinity of Cairo so attractive. The summer palace of the viceroy at

Shoobra and his palace at Cairo were not altogether wanting in the magnificence which is associated with the notions of an Eastern potentate, and the presents of valuable gems, gold, and ivory, which he sent to the sultan whenever he had a government difficulty to overcome, were royal in value. Seen in the plain and barely furnished room in which he often received visitors on business, or in the garden in Cairo to which he occasionally retired, the pasha appeared to be a rather truculent but shrewd old man, with a penetrating eye, a choleric temper, a marvellous power of reserve or of frankness, as the occasion might demand. He never wore splendid apparel, but the hilt of his sword and the handles of his pistols were studded with rare jewels. His harem adjoining the palace was a large establishment. Beside the four wives permitted by the law of the Prophet, he had several favourite slaves, and the retinue of slaves, servants, and attendants amounted to about three hundred, including musicians and dancers. He employed a female secretary, who had been taught to write well and to keep secrets, and other attendants were retained to read translations from the London and Paris newspapers. His first wife, Amina, the mother of Toussoon, Ismael, and Ibrahim, possessed remarkable influence over the impetuous and crafty viceroy, and he regarded her goodness and common sense with constant respect and esteem, believing that to her he was greatly indebted for the advantages he had acquired. Amina was also beloved by the people because of her frequent pleadings on the side of justice and mercy. If she presented a petition to mitigate or to correct the decisions of the viceroy's subordinates, they knew well that it was better at once to accede to it, for if they began to remonstrate his highness would exclaim in his unmistakable manner: "'Tis enough. By my two eyes, if she requires it the thing must be done, be it through fire, water, or stone."

Of the pasha's delightful and splendid palace and garden at Shoobra most people have heard—of its fountains with marble hippopotami spouting jets of clear water, its series of lofty halls with ceilings painted with landscapes, its lower room, safe from the summer heats, with the inscription from the Koran on the wall:

"An hour of justice is worth seventy days of prayer"—its sumptuous pavilion, 250 feet long by 200 broad, composed of white marble, with a sunken court and four pillared galleries or colonnades, and at each corner of the chief colonnade a terraced slope, over which water passed in a cascade to the court below, and on the ledges of which sculptured fish lay as though they were swimming. In the water of the sunken court or basin the ladies of the harem would paddle about in or out of small shallops, much to the amusement of his highness, who sat in the colonnade above. But the pasha had not too much time to bestow on amusements, and even the chess player, who was constantly in attendance at Cairo, and was also a kind of mimic or jester, affecting extravagant and ludicrous sorrow whenever a piece was taken from him by his master, must often have found that his appointment was a sinecure, though, probably, like everybody else employed by the pasha, he found it exceedingly difficult to obtain punctual payment of his salary.

The grounds of Shoobra, situated in the plantations between Cairo and the river, and connected with the city by an avenue of sycamores and acacias, were open to the public; but the whole city of Cairo was soon improved, and the improvements have since been so extensive that it is a very different place indeed from the Cairo of Mohammed Ali, though the mosque which he erected in the citadel is still one of the first buildings in the world. At Alexandria, however, the improvements made by the pasha were more conspicuous, though they consisted chiefly of public works, such as the schools, hospitals, arsenal, docks, and warehouses. The Mahmoudieh Canal, too, was an enormous acquisition to the commerce of the city. The only really remarkable buildings were the arsenal and the pasha's palace; but it was to its commercial and strategical or geographical importance that he devoted attention, and his judgment was endorsed by others, and by his second successor, Said Pasha, who constructed the railway from Alexandria to Cairo, of which 60 miles had been completed in 1854. Of course the greater number of the institutions founded by Mohammed Ali were designed to answer the purpose, in the first

instance, of consolidating Egypt as an independent power, and workshops, printing-press, arsenal, and schools were all regulated to this end, rather than to the general progress of the country. Probably he would have said that no certain progress could be made until the national independence was established, and the assertion would not have been unreasonable at that time, for the Turkish government was anti-progressive, though many small innovations were adopted chiefly by imitating the dress and the manners, not to say the vices, of Europe.

The viceroy achieved personal independence, inasmuch as for his government of Egypt he was practically irresponsible. Of course he had no representative assembly or constitution in the English sense—he was absolute, and could reward or bribe with land or money, or punish as he thought fit. In the midst of an examination, or on his own judgment, with or without a trial, he could send to death any of his subjects. A horizontal movement of his hand was sufficient sentence, and the ready executioner acted upon it at once, the culprit being taken away by the officers and decapitated. Many of the punishments for ordinary fraud were cruel and excessive, though the officers who ordered them were notorious for taking bribes and occasioning a failure of justice. Occasionally, however, the barbarity of these representatives of the pasha was detected in cases where they themselves were the guilty persons, and they were then paid in their own coin either by a superior, who desired to carry out the principles of strict retaliation, or by the viceroy himself, who resented the claims of any one but himself to fleece his subjects. Lane, in his *Modern Egyptians*, tells some stories of the administration of "justice" which have quite the flavour of the tales in the *Arabian Nights*. Some of these recount horrible atrocities, even where they are designed to show the retribution that sometimes visits the oppressor.[1]

The same authority, speaking of the revenues of the pasha at that time (1835) reckons them at about £3,000,000 sterling, nearly

[1] Lane's *Modern Egyptians* is still the best authority, as it is the most entertaining and instructive, on the manners, customs, and observances of the people of Lower Egypt.

half of which was derived from the direct taxes on land and from indirect exactions from the fellaheen, the remainder principally from the customs, income-tax, the tax on palm-trees, and the sale of the produce of the land, on much of which the government obtained a profit of above fifty per cent. As the private proprietors were all dispossessed of their lands, and were only partially compensated by a pension for life, supposed to be in proportion to the extent and quality of the land taken from them, the farmer had nothing to leave to his children but his hut and perhaps a few cattle, with, possibly, a trifling sum of money saved by great self-denial.

The fellah, to supply the bare necessaries of life, was often obliged to steal and convey secretly to his hut as much as he could of the produce of his land. He could either supply the seed for his land or obtain it as a loan from the government, but, in the latter case, a considerable portion of it was likely to be stolen by the persons through whose hands it passed. It would scarcely have been possible for the peasants to suffer more and live, so that few of them were eager to follow the pursuit of agriculture. Those who did so mostly worked under compulsion.

The pasha also took possession of the incomes of a good many religious and charitable institutions, granting annuities in place of the income derived from the legacies by which they were founded. The tax upon palm or date trees amounted to about £100,000, and the tax on grain paid by the inhabitants of large towns was about equal to the price of the wheat in the country after a good harvest. It must be remembered, too, that this grain was often taken from the fellaheen and credited to them much below its market price.

At the time when the viceroy was carrying out his reforms there was no registration and no proper computation of the number of inhabitants; but the best authorities appear to calculate the population of Egypt proper at not much over two millions and a quarter, of which the Arab fellahs were above a million and three-quarters, the rest being made up of Copts, Bedouins, Arabs,

Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Turks, Albanians, Syrians, Ethiopians, and Franks.

Of course the keen efforts of Mohammed Ali to establish commerce, public instruction, and manufactures on European models led to numberless attempts on the part of adventurers to obtain profitable concessions for government or public works, and, after the settlement of the government in 1840, several eminent engineers and contractors from this country made engagements which were afterwards of considerable value. At the same time the effrontery with which mere speculators attempted, not always without success, to lay hold of contracts for Egypt, or represented to the pasha that they could undertake some enterprise which would be to his profit and advantage, must have made the honourable men of the same nation who were at Cairo or Alexandria ashamed of their countrymen. It was actually declared by a paragraph in the *Spettatore Egiziano* that it had been proposed to Mohammed Ali to convert into paper the cloth of the mummies, of which it was calculated 420,000,000 must have been deposited in the mummy pits. Whereupon there appeared in the columns of *Punch* a skit which has been quoted since:—

"Oh, shade of Memnon!
Cheops and Rameses, shake in your cere-cloths;
Save smoke-dried pashas of the Eastern phlegm, none
Can read, unmoved, the end of all your glory,
Announced in the Grand Cairo *Spettatore;*
How, in the place of mere cloth
Of hempen, linen, cotton,
More or less rotten,
As made at Manchester and sold by every draper,
They're going to take the bier-cloths,
That wrap the sons and daughters of Old Nile,
From gilded kings to rough-dressed rank and file,
And turn them into paper!

We're not told in the Egyptian *Spectator*
What daring speculator
Conceived the notion; but I'd make a bet it grew
Up to the thought from watching Dr. Pettigrew,
At some soiree or conversazione,
'Midst talk of Young, Champollion, or Belzoni,

And such hieroglyphic twaddle,
Unwinding nimbly, swaddle after swaddle,
The wrappings aromatic
Of some aristocratic
Dandy of hundred-gated Thebes or Heliopolis,
Consigned to our mushroom of a metropolis
Per last Peninsula and Oriental packet;
And from the hush of his necropolis—
So deep and drear—
Tumbled ashore 'midst the unholy racket
Of the Southampton pier.

Heaven only knows what acreage of mummyhood
Is resting in its thousand-year-old dummyhood
Under the desert sands;
Nor what miles on miles of linen bands
Are rotting in the bosom of the lands,
Which Mehemet commands.

But these are times when not even mummies
Can longer rest as dummies;
And as the grains of wheat found at their side
Were sown, have grown, and now grow far and wide,
So must old Egypt's gentlemen and ladies,
To the disgust of each old-fashioned ghost,
Give up their cerements to the hand whose trade is
To turn them into foolscap or Bath post,
To fly round all creation,
In tongues of every nation,
Spreading (at least we hope it) useful information."

There is an appearance of irreverence in this, but the history of Egypt for the previous fifty years and more had not been conducive to reverence. There was nothing very preposterous in the notion of such a proposition having been made to the pasha; he cared less about the mummies and the ancient monuments of the country than he did for its future development and the establishment of his authority, and for that he was scarcely to be blamed. He would, as a man of common sense and a Mohammedan, have refrained from desecrating the depositories of the dead and making a traffic of the contents, but as a matter of fact mummy pits were being opened and their contents sold by the Arabs, and nobody interfered. The remains of ancient monu-

ments at Alexandria were used to build the arsenal, and the pasha very kindly made the English government a present of the second of Cleopatra's Needles—a gift which was appreciated but could not be made practically available till about forty years afterwards, that is to say till quite recently, when the beautiful monument was brought to this country, and now stands on the Thames Embankment.

The name of Ibrahim Pasha, or of "Abraham Parker," as he was jocularly called by the populace, was pretty well known in London when he paid a visit to this country in June, 1846. Songs were made about him, and there was a good deal of discussion about his mode of living, his encouragement of Europeans, his yacht, his horses, and all his possessions. Directly he landed at Portsmouth a corporation address reminded him of the facilities which his father Mohammed Ali had always afforded to this country for maintaining uninterrupted communication with India. He was made a good deal of, and when he came to London and took up his abode at Mivart's hotel he made the usual round of visits to places of interest, was invited to dine with her majesty, and also accepted invitations to banquets in his honour by the East India Company and the Oriental Steam Navigation Company. The pasha had in fact become remarkably European, and though it can scarcely be said that he was the sort of man to evoke what is called good fellowship, and was often rather silent and saturnine in his look and manner, he had a large fund of sagacity, and was, of course, a person of very high consideration, since it was almost certain that he would soon succeed to the viceroyalty. As a matter of fact his countenance was somewhat forbidding, and his eye, which like his father's was quick and penetrating, had a look of suspicion. The story of his cruelties in Greece, too, had not been quite forgotten, and there were many things which made some people shy of him. At the same time he was a distinguished guest, and as he was said to appreciate good living, and had grown corpulent through self-indulgence and want of exercise since no fighting had been going on, he was supposed to be ready enough to be entertained in the true British fashion.

It was well known that Ibrahim Pasha did not altogether agree with his father's methods of government, and that though the old viceroy admired his son's military genius, and could make allowance for his passionate temper, he did not consult him much upon affairs of state. They held different views on many subjects, and it was believed by the well informed that the opinions of the younger man were the most enlightened. He had at one time been less appreciative of European institutions than his father had, but after the war in Greece and greater opportunities for observation, he had become convinced that in this respect Mohammed Ali had not overrated the influence and practical example of England. Between his father and himself, however, there was no great sympathy, and they lived in a friendly difference of opinion which made their intercourse rather less than cordial. But if their regard was not cordial it was apparently loyal and sincere, and for eight years after the treaty of 1840 the viceroy continued to push on the various enterprises which he had taken in hand without much remonstrance, if not always with the concurrence of Ibrahim. A life of fierce conflict, restless ambition, and vast responsibilities had not left the old pasha altogether unscathed; yet such was his marvellous vitality and great mental activity that he continued those organizations which made Egypt by far the most civilized and capable of Mussulman governments, and left to his successors only the task of reformation and development. It was not till he was nearly eighty years old that he showed serious signs of failure or decrepitude, and it was when he had reached his eightieth year (in 1848) that he succumbed. His active and ever-planning brain did not outlive his body. His malady was mental, and he fell into a condition of apparent imbecility, in which he continued for a year until his death on the 2d of August, 1849.

Ibrahim Pasha was practically no more than prince regent after the resignation of his father, who survived him. He reigned for no more than four months, and, therefore, was unable either to perpetuate or to reform the policy to which he succeeded. The next heir was Abbas, the son of Toussoon and grandson of Mohammed Ali. He was invested by the sultan, and did little

or nothing to continue the policy which had been inaugurated by his grandfather, who died soon after his accession. He seemed to have inherited the cunning and the treachery of the old pasha, but without most of the redeeming qualities which had succeeded in raising the country to a position of importance. He was at once a fanatic and a voluptuary, and, though he has been credited with the discrimination which led him to continue his confidence in English advisers, the story of his baleful authority is a dark page in Egyptian history. It must be borne in mind, however, that the modern history of Egypt has been recorded by those who were partisans and were influenced by personal or political motives; and the writer of an Eastern romance might find many materials in the records of this short and unprofitable episode of Egyptian history. He made few attempts to develop the improvements which had been instituted by Mohammed Ali, and his professed regard for the traditions of Islam were certainly not supported by the gross debauchery which characterized his life. He resorted to the aid of spies and assassins for the maintenance of his authority, and his cruelty and injustice caused him to fear that he would fall a victim to the instruments which he himself employed. His life was one of sensualism, avarice, terror, and suspicion; and his fears were not unfounded, for he was murdered by his own slaves after less than six years of tyranny and the lowest forms of self-indulgence. The next heir to the viceregal power was Said Pasha, the third son of Mohammed Ali, whose extravagant expenditure for his personal gratification was combined with a laudable ambition to complete and extend the improvements which had been commenced by his father.

It should in justice be mentioned that the first line of the Egyptian railway system was completed by Abbas Pasha, who in 1852 commissioned Mr. Robert Stephenson to construct a single railway from Alexandria to Cairo in the interest of the rapidly developing overland traffic. As early as 1834, however, the keen intelligence of Mohammed Ali had ordered surveys and sections of a desert line from Cairo to Suez to be made by his engineer, Mr. Galloway, and the plant and appliances were actually ordered

from England; but then, as ever, French jealousy was aroused, and French influence prevented the scheme from being carried out. A short steam tramway was subsequently constructed at Alexandria by Mr. Galloway, who, with his brothers, erected nearly all the pumping and other machinery required by the pasha at that time, and continued to do so during the reigns of Abbas and Said. The line from Alexandria to the capital was afterwards doubled by Said Pasha, and in 1861 a floating ferry across the Rosetta branch of the Nile, 65 miles from Alexandria, was replaced by a fine iron bridge of twelve spans resting on hollow piles. This cost £400,000, and was proposed with the direct line between Cairo and Suez as an alternative for the maritime canal across the Isthmus of Suez.

The scheme for cutting a canal through the isthmus was, however, begun in this reign, and among other enterprises a plan for the preservation of ancient monuments was decided on. As Said Pasha died in 1863, it would be useless to criticise his policy in relation to the debt which he contracted. In 1862, the last year of his reign, the revenue was £4,929,000, and the expenditure £4,330,000, with a debt of £3,292,300, a mere fleabite when compared to later developments of the art of raising loans. The public works and the system of education and general improvement which he inaugurated or continued, could not be carried on without considerable outlay, and, as the finances of the country were insufficient under the management of his ministers to provide for his own expenditure and the immense expenses incurred for public works, he started on that debt which has ever since been an accumulating burden.

We have already referred to the subject of slavery and slave-dealing in Egypt, and we shall have still more to say in a later page, but it is desirable that this topic should be touched upon here in order to preserve the consecutive interest of our story, and also because it has a very marked association with the conditions which led to British interposition in the affairs of Egypt when the rebellion of Arabi led to the troubles in Alexandria, and was

followed by the insurrection to suppress which British troops were despatched to the Soudan.

It will be remembered that after Mohammed Ali had subjugated Nubia, he turned his attention to the districts bordering the White and the Blue Nile. He had heard accounts of gold mines, and desired to see whether the reputed wealth could be realized, though, at the same time, he proposed to introduce commerce and civilization among the negro tribes, and to find among them recruits for his army. An armed expedition went up the Blue Nile as far as Fazokol, which the viceroy himself started to visit in 1838, and in 1840 and following years three large expeditions were organized. Comparatively little gold was discovered, but the provinces were brought under the Egyptian government, the navigation of the White Nile was declared to be free, military stations were established on both sides, and, as we have previously noted, a vast number of slaves were taken and drafted into the ranks of the pasha's army. The result of this expedition and the subsequent government of the provinces that had been subjugated was the establishment of Khartûm, not only as the capital of the Soudan, but as the central mart for a vast slave-trade. The provinces then annexed were Kordofan, Taka, and Sennâr. Kordofan, due west of Sennâr, and separated from it by the White Nile, is a tract of country watered only by the rains and by wells placed at considerable intervals, its cultivable area being about 12,000 square miles. Further westward, on the other side of a narrow strip of desert inhabited by the Hamrân and Boggara Arabs, lies Darfûr, which was not annexed till 1875, and holds an important part in the history of the achievements of General Gordon. Darfûr is in reality a group of oäses, and is hilly in the southern portion, a ridge called Marrah, which traverses the province from end to end, being the most important elevation. The Shillûk country, which was subjected to Egypt in 1870, is between Southern Kordofan and Sennâr, a strip of moderately fertile territory, about twelve miles wide and two hundred long, running east and west to the junction of the Nile with the Sobat and Bahr el Ghazal rivers. West and south

of this long ribbon of territory are Darfetit and Donga, the countries comprised in the province of Bahr el Ghazal; and on the south and east of this we come to the equatorial provinces, bounded to the south by Lake Albert Nyanza and the Victoria Nile.

Taka is a small province on the border of Abyssinia, east of the Atbara river, the stream which Sir Samuel Baker regards as the fertilizer of the country, and, so to speak, the key of the Nile inundation; and its capital, Kassala, he describes (in 1861) as a walled town, surrounded by a ditch and flanking towers, and containing about 8000 inhabitants, exclusive of the troops stationed there, and for whom it is a depot. The houses as well as the walls are of unburnt or sun-dried bricks, those of the houses smeared with clay and cow-dung, and the walls of the city loop-holed for musketry and surrounded by a deep fosse. It was built in 1840, at the time of the annexation by Egypt, and occupies a good military position in case of war with Abyssinia, as the river Gash supplies water, and the country around is fertile, the mountainous district in the south and south-east being wild, and affording a healthy retreat during the rainy season. As a trading centre, too, Kassala is next in importance to Khartûm, the merchandise consisting of ivory, hides, bees'-wax, senna, and gum-arabic. Sennâr, which, as we have noted, was entered in 1820 by Ismael, the son of Mohammed Ali, occupies principally the angle formed by the White Nile above Khartûm and the Blue Nile or Bahr el Azrek. The frontier of Sennâr begins at Khartûm, and may be said to be bounded east and west by the Atbara and Abyssinia, west by the White Nile, separating it from Kordofan, and south by the mountains of Fazokol. It consists chiefly of an undulating plain, increasing in elevation to the south, and with forests near the rivers. Near Khartûm the soil is sandy, but mixed with the mud deposits of the Nile, while further south is a deep bed of argillaceous marl, which is covered with crops during the autumnal rains, though unproductive in the dry season, the pastoral tribes moving north with their herds in May and returning in September. The inhabitants, whose occupation is almost entirely that of cultivating the land in a very primitive and imperfect fashion,

are of a low and degraded type; and dress in a fashion similar to that represented on the tombs of ancient Egypt. They declare that Egyptian rule has suppressed all habits of industry. The whole country is thinly peopled, and there are no actual proprietors of the soil, since anyone can take a piece of open land and cultivate it, with the drawback that he cannot claim the produce until he has actually gathered it in; therefore the agricultural importance of the territory is far less than it might become under another system of tenure and a more enterprising industry. The chiefs and principal men of the villages live in indolence, and intoxicate themselves with merissa, a kind of beer made from bread or grain steeped in water and fermented; they also chew a preparation of tobacco or stramonium, which produces a kind of temporary insanity. The principal food of the poorer class consists of a kind of paste made of flour, water, and milk, but the people are omnivorous in their tastes, and though they often endure hunger without complaining, will consume large quantities of any kind of flesh food, including pork and the entrails of camels, sheep, or cattle, some parts of which, especially the liver and the fat, they devour raw. Curiously enough, they have among them several clever practitioners of the art of surgery, who can perform amputations and some more difficult operations, and they have long been accustomed to inoculation for small-pox. There are also many handicrafts among them, including weaving, goldsmith's work, the art of the currier, and that of the potter, and they are celebrated in Ethiopia for superior workmanship. They profess to follow the faith inculcated by the Koran, but have few mosques, and do not include among their observances either washing or prayer.

Sennâr may be said to be an old stronghold of slavery. The work of the fields is all done by slaves, and abject slavery, either to a private master or to a despotic ruler, was the actual condition of the greater part of the population when the province was an independent state.

But it was in the most western part of the province, watered by the southern tributaries of the Bahr el Arab and Bahr el Ghazal—the country known as Darfertit—that some of the earliest

settlements of the slave-trade and the ivory trade were to be found. These settlements were made by small resident traders, called *kalabas*, who paid taxes to the native chieftains of the Kredy tribe, and about the year 1854 trading companies from Khartûm with armed bands of Nubians began to establish slave-dealing stations over the whole of that country, their headquarters being the land of the Bongo or Dohr, a large tribe following agricultural industry, and soon entirely subdued and reduced to slavery by these gangs, who made the province their chief settlement, because of its being at no great distance from Meshera, the highest navigable point on the Bahr el Ghazal. The smaller tribes were soon overcome and reduced to slavery, and the traders then settled stations further towards the south-east. The Denka tribes on the north-east were protected by their impenetrable marshes, and the fierce and warlike Niam-Niam nation on the south-west was able to offer a resistance which the armed gangs of slave-hunters could not overcome. When in 1870 the Egyptian government concerned itself with the administration of the province, with the avowed intention of suppressing the slave-trade, the officers and troops sent to effect that object not only abetted the slave-hunters but became active and energetic traders, and it is only about six years ago that, by the active and able exertions of Gessi, an Italian of great courage and determination, who had been an interpreter to the British during the Crimean war, and who served on the staff of Gordon in the Soudan in 1874, the evils there were remedied and the slave-hunting chiefs suppressed.

Of this portion of the story and its relation to recent events we shall have to take more particular notice when we come to the consideration of the condition of the Soudan just before the intervention of British troops and the expedition of General Graham, but it is as well to note that the system of slave-hunting and slave-dealing in the provinces here referred to had reduced that which had been a thriving population, possessing flocks and herds and inhabiting a fertile country, to a condition of misery and starvation. Women and children had been seized and exported in large numbers, perhaps as many had fled to escape from the

cruelties of the traders and the horrible desert journey which they might be forced to endure, that they might be resold at some distant part of the country. The population was so reduced that many districts became wholly desolate. The uninhabited wilderness of Darfertit country to the west of Zeriba Zobeir was described by Dr. Schweinfurth in 1870 as a "sold-out land."

When the slave-traders and their armed forces first arrived at Bongoland from Khartûm they found the country divided into a number of small districts, each with its own chief, and not consisting of one strong and united community like the Denkas. This made the subjugation of the people easy, and the traders, after making them vassals, compelled them to live round the Zeribas or stations, so that these docile and industrious red-brown men, who were chiefly employed in cultivating their land, with occasional excursions for fishing and shooting, but were also skilful workers in iron, manufacturers of arms, basket-makers, and wood-carvers, virtually maintained their tyrants. When the Khartûmers first invaded them they lived in large villages inclosed with palisades, now these are only to be found in the neighbourhood of the government stations.

From the time of Mohammed Ali's expeditions Darfûr was constantly ready to resist Egyptian aggression, and the country was practically closed to all Europeans, who were regarded as spies.

Writing in 1843, Dr. William Holt Yates says: "We have melancholy proofs that the time has not yet arrived for sending missionaries or men of science into Central Africa. It is perfectly well ascertained that the native and Jewish merchants, who are on distant parts of the coast, do not find it their interest to encourage Europeans either to trade with or instruct the negroes; because they know that as soon as they become enlightened they will resist the impositions to which they are now compelled to submit; therefore they try to persuade them that all white men are their enemies. They have succeeded, alas! too well; and if the traveller escapes the severity of the climate, he seldom eludes the wrath of the inhabitants. In many parts the white men *are*

the source of their calamities, for a considerable traffic in slaves is carried on by private speculators. The different tribes are also incited to war, because, instead of destroying the prisoners as formerly, they have been taught that it is more profitable to sell them to the slave-dealer. In this way children are suddenly torn from their parents, and parents are separated from their families, manacled, and carried off into Egypt; many do not survive the journey. Several caravans arrive at Cairo every year; their principal halting-places are Essouan and Ghéneh for those who come from Abyssinia, and D'Girgeh for those who are natives of Darfûr; they are driven across the desert linked together by the neck, and arriving at the Nile are then forwarded by water. I have passed many such cargoes, men, women, and children perfectly naked, emaciated and disconsolate, all huddled up together like pigs or sheep, and swarming with vermin. Sometimes they change hands *en route*, the various dealers bartering with one another, and each putting his mark upon his *stock* with a hot iron, that in the event of one being missed he may swear to him before the cadi. The Wakaleh or Khan which constitutes the slave-market at Cairo is a filthy, wretched court, surrounded by arched vaults or dungeons, having an upper floor for the females, of which I generally saw a good supply. Any person is at liberty to inspect them just as he would cattle; they invariably look ill, and, except when a purchaser draws near, dejected, for they are compelled by their master on such occasions to smile and appear happy, that they may fetch a good price. . . . I saw there a great number of slaves from all parts, of both sexes and various ages, squatting in groups upon a piece of ragged mat or on the bare earth. The women were naked to the loins, around which was bound the "raht" or apron made of strips of untanned buffalos' hide ornamented with shells; their bodies were thickly anointed with grease, and some of them wore glass beads and brass rings or armlets. The Abyssinians are much better looking than any of the rest, their features are more regular and spirituelle. I saw one very beautiful girl who was to be sold for sixty dollars (about £15), and many others who were well-formed and wanting neither

intelligence nor expression; they were modest and well-behaved, and rejoiced that their toils were nearly at an end; for when sold they are better provided for, fed, and clothed, and for the most part well treated."

It was not, however, the traffic in slaves made prisoners of war that stocked the market. The Garzoua or negro-hunting; the raids made upon native villages by the scoundrels, who were often pashas or slave-hunting chiefs of rank and wealth, were the curse of the country.

It is significant, having read the remarks of a traveller who spoke of the slave-trade above forty years ago, to note what Victor Giraud, the French explorer, said the other day before the French Geographical Society. After having undergone innumerable sufferings at the hands of African despots, M. Giraud, introduced by M. de Lesseps to an audience at the Salle de Sorbonne, gave an account of his journeys in the lake district of Central Africa, and speaking of the natives, said:—

"I was deeply impressed with the extreme misery in which they live, a misery resulting from their indolence and the sterility of the soil. . . . Another remarkable fact is the growing depopulation of these countries; they are in a continual state of war, famine, and slave-trade. There are on an average less than a hundred male inhabitants to every twenty-five square kilometres. It would be vain to think of aiding the native in the cultivation of the soil; he is in no want; what does he care for our civilization? Nor would it be of any use to think of cultivating these districts, the vegetation being poor and the mines unpromising; ivory will always be dear on account of the transport, and commerce will always be in the hands of Arabs and half-caste Portuguese; in order to render it productive, the slave-trade must first be suppressed."

No doubt. The question, however, is, how is it to be done? and in the present condition of affairs there appears to be no other means than a permanent establishment of military stations throughout the Soudan, and an occupation, the cost of which would be so great as to be beyond the present resources of the Egyptian government, while the question of European occupation is one

beset with difficulties which need not be discussed here. It may be mentioned with some emphasis, however, that there are many who, by long experience of the country, by close observation, and by deep reflection, are persuaded that the slave-trade of the Soudan will not be abolished by military occupation or by armed retribution,—that the system and practice of slavery is so deeply ingrained in the very constitution of the country, where it has existed from time immemorial, that only the slower but more certain and complete influences of advancing civilization, and the irresistible changes brought about through the commercial and social invasion of the country by enlightened and honourable representatives of European enterprise, will effect the radical change by which the curse of the land will be removed, and its agricultural and productive wealth be restored and enormously increased.

We have already gone beyond the date to which we had come in pursuing the consecutive story of "the burden of Egypt." Said Pasha lived only till 1863, and his nephew, Ismail Pasha, the second son of Ibrahim, succeeded to the viceroyalty. Of him and his character and ability we shall see an outline presently, but for a moment we may remark that he spared no possible effort and no expense to suppress the slave traffic, and that though he succeeded while the efforts were being made by men unsurpassed for integrity, courage, and determination—Sir Samuel Baker and the heroic and lamented Gordon—the slave-dealers, who were often powerful chiefs and rulers, could only be kept down by constant pressure and repeated chastisement, and directly the armed forces occupying the stations were removed the traffic was resumed. The story of Darfûr, which is associated with that of Zobeir, Sebehr, or Zebehr Rahama,—a name which has occurred pretty frequently in relation to General Gordon and to the course of events in the Soudan—will illustrate the difficulties that met attempts to suppress the powerful and ruffianly chiefs of the slave depots.

Darfûr had never been under the government of Egypt, but

had been ruled by its own sultans in regular succession for 400 years. The inhabitants were not of the true negro type,—the army of fighting men was mostly composed of Arabs of the wandering tribes, who paid tribute to the Sultan of Darfûr. The country was famous not only as a centre of commerce but as a great slave depôt. "Je vous prie de m'envoyer par le première caravane 2000 esclaves noirs ayant plus de 16 ans, forts et vigoreux," wrote Bonaparte to the Sultan of Darfûr, Abd el Rahman, surnamed "the Just;"—"je les achéterai pour mon compte. Ordonnez notre caravane de venir de suite, de nes pas s'arrêter en route: je donne les ordres pour qu'elle soit protégée partout." Darfûr was practically closed to Europeans, who were regarded as spies, but for ages caravans conveying slaves, ivory, feathers, and gum went from Darfûr to Egypt, where the merchandise was exchanged for cloth, beads, and firearms.

In 1869 the slave-dealers in the Bahr el Ghazal had attained to such power that they refused to pay their rentals to the Egyptian government. One of the foremost of those was Zobeir or Zebehr Rahama, the individual already mentioned, who lived in princely style, and was a person in high authority. As it was impossible for the ruler of Egypt to submit to the insolence of the slave-making chiefs, he sent a small armed force to bring them to submission, and also to subjugate Darfûr. This expedition, which was under the command of Bellal, found itself opposed by Zebehr, who was a kind of king surrounded with a court little less than princely in its details. Here special rooms, provided with carpeted divans, were reserved as ante-chambers, and into these all visitors were conducted by richly dressed slaves. The royal aspect of these halls was increased by the introduction of living lions, secured of course by strong chains. The exquisite Zebehr Rahama was a slave-hunting ruffian, but this was his style. His ambition was great, his wealth enormous. Among other stories told of him it was affirmed that, as he superstitiously believed in the power of one of his enemies to withstand leaden bullets by the aid of magic, he had 25,000 dollars melted down into bullets, as the charm possessed by the foe did not extend to protection against silver. This

story, at all events, proves that the superstition of the silver bullet is almost universal wherever firearms are used. Zebehr owned about thirty stations, and these fortified posts were carried into the heart of Africa, and in the district extending widely between these stations, and round each of them far and wide, he exercised despotic rule. He it was who went forth to meet the few companies of soldiers sent from Egypt to the Bahr el Ghazal. There was a sharp engagement, which ended in the defeat of the Egyptian force and the death of their commander, Zebehr himself being wounded in the ankle. Meanwhile the Sultan of Darfûr, expecting to be attacked by the Egyptian troops, had placed an embargo on corn along his southern frontier, which had the effect not only of distressing the enemy but of depriving the slave-traders of their supplies, a condition which was at once resented by Zebehr, who was strong enough to attack Darfûr, and commenced hostilities. This was alarming. Ismail Pasha feared that should Darfûr fall into the power of this chief the whole of the Soudan would revolt from the Egyptian government. He therefore determined to make the slave-hunter an ally, and sent a force into Darfûr from the north to support the slave-dealers who were advancing from the south. Zebehr received the rank and title of Bey, the Sultan of Darfûr and his two sons were slain, a young man named Haroun succeeded to the government, and Darfûr was subjugated; but the victors were soon in the heat of a quarrel over the spoils. Zebehr was not satisfied with his title. He said that as he and his men had done all the fighting he ought to be governor-general of the province. He became so powerful and dangerous that his audacity was one of the great incentives to Ismail Pasha to suppress the slave-trade which threatened his supremacy. The very soldiers of this usurper were bands of armed slaves, smart dapper-looking fellows like antelopes, fierce, unsparing, the terror of Central Africa, having strongly fortified camps, a prestige far beyond that of the government, and ready to make their chief independent of Egyptian rule. Eventually Zebehr, in an evil hour for himself, but in a most happy one for the lands that he had wasted, went down to Cairo to assert his own claim, taking with

him £100,000 to use for bribing the pashas. At Cairo, however, he was detained, without receiving the appointment and the title which he coveted, and until he had seen two successive governors appointed,—Sir Samuel Baker and General Gordon. He was in fact a prisoner of state unable to leave the city, and in his rage incited his son Suleiman, who had taken his place, to break out into a formidable revolt, which after a time was crushed by Gessi, Colonel Gordon's energetic and able lieutenant.

"Dar For and Dar Fertit mean the land of the Fors and the land of the Fertits," wrote Gordon. "The Fors and the Fertits were the original negro inhabitants; then came in the Bedûin tribes, who partially conquered the country, and made the Fors Mussulmans, giving them a sultan. The Fors and the Bedûin tribes, the one stationary and the other nomadic, live in peace, for their habits are different."

The brief glance which we have taken of the great slave-trading territories will be of service in following intelligently the course of the narrative of the relations of Egypt and the Soudan, though we shall presently have to continue the reference by mentioning some other provinces which have been recently annexed to Egypt through the action taken by Gordon after he was appointed governor-general.

We should here, however, mention the relations between Egypt and Abyssinia, which also have an important bearing upon the same subject.

This is not the place to recount the story of the expedition sent in 1867 from England to Abyssinia against the self-styled "Theodorus, King of Kings," whose real name was Dejajmatch Kasai. The name of this wild and unexplored country had been familiar to us because of the records of explorers from Bruce downward. We knew that, bounded by the Red Sea, Nubia, and Sennâr, it spread out on the south and south-west into unknown tracts inhabited, where they were inhabited at all, by the Gallas, the Shoans, the Wanikas, and other warlike and half savage tribes. We had learned that the whole country formed a great irregular table-land projecting from the high regions south of the line into

comparatively level plains bounding the basin of the Nile, and forming a succession of undulating tracts of various altitudes, deeply cut into by narrow valleys and water channels, which often descend 3000 or 4000 feet below the level of the plains. The population consisted, we were told, of three races; one of them like the Bedûin Arabs, another of them resembling the Ethiopians, and a third, comprising the tribes of the south and south-west, quite distinct from the rest, as they are also distinct from the negroes, who are held there as slaves, brought from the countries of the south and west. The majority of the Abyssinians professed the Christian religion in a strangely corrupt form, partaking of a mixture of ceremonies, with hosts of saints and objects of veneration, several sacred places, numerous fasts, and the observance of both the Christian and the Jewish Sabbath. In 1850 the few missionaries and other Europeans who were engaged in visiting Abyssinia reported that a great movement was taking place there by means of the conquests made by Theodorus or Kasai, who claimed to be a direct descendant of King Solomon. A succession of victories over the Gallas tribes, the Shoans, and the men of Tigré, so raised the ambition of this fierce and savage ruler that he claimed an alliance with England and France, and demanded an acknowledgment of his dignity from Queen Victoria, and the establishment of an amicable treaty between himself and this country. The execution of this treaty he urged by alternate persuasions, favours, and furious threats addressed to the few Europeans who were in his territory, and therefore liable to his animosity.

He had assumed the title of "Theodorus, King of Ethiopia," because of an alleged ancient prophecy which said that a king of that name would reform Abyssinia, restore the Christian faith, and become master of the world; and he appeared to have a great desire to retain the services of Englishmen. In 1860 Mr. Plowden, who had been British consul in Abyssinia since 1848, went on a journey to Massowa, and while on his way was attacked near Gondar by a band of rebels, and received a wound of which he died. King Theodore, who had a great regard for him, took signal vengeance on his murderers. In 1861 Captain Cameron was appointed

consul. Theodore then addressed a letter to the queen, declaring that his mission was to overthrow the Gallas and the Turks, and to restore the whole country with himself as emperor. He also requested that arrangements might be made for the safe-conduct of his ambassadors, that they might not be molested by the Turks, who were his enemies. This was, of course, no less than an endeavour to obtain a material alliance with England against the Islams. The letter was forwarded to England by Mr. Cameron, who immediately afterwards went on to the frontier province of Bogos, where, as the Christian inhabitants were under his protection as British consul, he conceived that he had a right to go, and he also had been commissioned by the foreign office to report on the suitability of Massowa as a consulate station, and to report on the conditions of trade there.

The time chosen was injudicious, as our government desired to avoid any appearance of interfering with the fierce disputes of the native tribes living on the frontier of Egypt and Abyssinia; and as by some oversight the letter sent to England by Theodorus had been left at the foreign office, and no notice was taken of it, the savage king chose to assume that the consul had another motive, and said, "He went to the Turks, who do not love me." In revenge he made Mr. Cameron prisoner, and at the same time seized all the Europeans who could be found in Abyssinia, including missionaries, artisans, and workmen, with their families. They underwent alternate kindness and horrible severity, were shut up in wretched huts or stone buildings, were frequently placed in irons and half-starved, and were subjected to the furious abuse and threats of the king, who appeared to suffer from insanity aggravated by frequent bouts of intoxication. After every possible expedient had been tried, and various attempts at intercession had been found fruitless, it was determined to send a force against the barbarous chieftain; and, as we all know, this resulted in the destruction of his stronghold at Magdala, and his death by his own hand after he had sustained a complete defeat.

In consequence of the assistance rendered to the Prophet Mohammed by one of the kings of Abyssinia he restrained his

immediate followers from attempting the subjugation of Abyssinian territory. This was for long afterwards regarded by many of the Arabs as a prohibition extending to the faithful, and it is asserted that the reluctance of the soldiers on the Egyptian frontier to prosecute hostilities against Abyssinia, will account for the country having so long remained uninvaded. Zula, Suakim, and Massowa were seized by the Turks, the first in the sixteenth century, the others in later times, but their occupants have neither advanced into the Abyssinian hills nor occupied the coast country between Massowa and Suakim.

In 1866 Egypt obtained Massowa from Turkey in exchange for an increased tribute, and in 1867 claimed authority as far as Zula, which is in Annesley Bay. In 1868 the assistance offered to England by the Egyptian government during the expedition to Abyssinia was understood to be for the purpose of securing the concurrence of this country in the encroachments that might be made on the coast of the Red Sea. Ismail Pasha could not be satisfied till he claimed Bogos, which he pretended had been conquered by Mohammed Ali. The Abyssinians denied that they had ever relinquished their rights in the territory, only the borderland of which had been occupied by the Egyptians. In fact, a border war had been maintained until Said Pasha withdrew, after which Bogos had remained neutral. During the war of the King of Abyssinia with the Gallas in 1874, however, the Egyptian government employed a Swiss named Munziger, who acted as consul for England and France in Massowa, to occupy Keren, the capital of Bogos, with a small force, and at the same time the governor of Ailat, the province lying between Hamasin and Massowa, actually sold that territory to Egypt, while in the following year the port of Zeila and the nominal rights of the sultan to the coast land from a point near Tajureh to one on the Indian Ocean, including Berbereh, were also acquired by Egypt in consideration of £15,000 a-year additional tribute.

The story of African exploration, and of the journeys of the intrepid travellers who devoted themselves to the discovery of the

sources of the Nile, is intensely interesting, but even the main narrative would fill a volume of large dimensions. It only comes within the present purpose to note that the results of this exploration will be closely associated with the development and future government of the Soudan. According to quite recent representations, the solution of the difficulties which attend the settlement of a regular government in the provinces claimed by Egypt, and the extinction of that slave-traffic which prevents the resources of the country from being cultivated, will ultimately depend on the relation of the latest discoveries made by explorers on the Congo to those which have been accomplished on the Nile.

Bruce had followed the Blue Nile to its source in the mountains of Abyssinia, but the White Nile remained for nearly three-quarters of a century unexplored, till in 1858 Captains Speke and Grant, commissioned by the English government to organize an expedition, discovered the Lake Victoria Nyanza, and in 1861 Sir Samuel Baker, going on a journey on his own account in the hope of meeting with the famous travellers and making further explorations, successfully accomplished both objects, and in 1864 discovered the Albert Nyanza.

These two vast lakes, the investigators concluded, were of sufficient volume to support the Nile through its entire course of thirty degrees of latitude, the parent stream fed by never-failing reservoirs, supplied by the ten months' rainfall of the equator, rolling steadily on its way through arid sands and burning deserts till it reaches the Delta of Lower Egypt.

Sir Samuel Baker, having explored all the tributaries of the Nile, however, claims to have discovered that, though the lake sources of Central Africa support the life of Egypt by supplying a stream throughout all seasons with sufficient volume to support the exhaustion of evaporation and absorption, that stream if unaided could not overflow its banks, and Egypt would thus be deprived of the annual inundation, cultivation being confined to the close vicinity of the river. He says that the inundations are caused chiefly by the two grand affluents of Abyssinia, the Blue Nile and the Atbara, streams of extreme grandeur during the period of the

Abyssinian rains, from the middle of June to September, but reduced to insignificance during the dry months; the Blue Nile being then so shallow as to be unnavigable, and the Atbara perfectly dry. At that season the water supply of Abyssinia having ceased, Egypt depends solely upon the equatorial lakes and the affluents of the White Nile until the rainy season shall again have flooded the two great Abyssinian arteries. This flood occurs suddenly about the 20th of June, and the grand rush of water pouring down the Blue Nile and the Atbara into the parent channel inundates Lower Egypt, and is the cause of its extreme fertility. Not only is the inundation the effect of the Abyssinian rains, but the deposit of mud that has formed the Delta, and which is annually precipitated by the rising waters, is also due to the Abyssinian streams, more especially to the river Atbara, which, known as the Bahr el Aswat or Black River, carries a larger proportion of soil than any other tributary of the Nile. Sir Samuel Baker sums up his conclusions by stating that the equatorial lakes feed Egypt, but the Abyssinian rivers cause the inundation.

It was in 1864 that Baker witnessed the melancholy condition of the countries of the Soudan, which was then under the governorship of a certain Mûsa Pasha. The provinces were utterly ruined, governed only by military force, the expenditure exceeding the revenue, the country paralysed by the oppressive taxation, and communication with the outer world difficult because of the deserts by which the lands were surrounded. These countries, he declared, were so worthless that their annexation could only be accounted for by the profits derived from the slave-trade. Yet Said Pasha had made a tour through these provinces in 1857, had proclaimed the abolition of slavery at Berber and at Khartûm, had organized a new government for the five provinces which were then comprised in the Soudan, namely, Kordofan, Sennâr, Taka, Berber, and Dongola. The taxes on the lands and water-wheels were to be greatly reduced, and a postal system by means of dromedaries was organized to cross the desert. But three years afterwards the European traders sold their stations to their Arab agents, who paid the rental demanded by the Egyptian government, and the

country fell into worse ruin and disorder than that under which it had previously suffered.

At the time that Sir Samuel Baker returned from his exploration Ismail Pasha had been two years on the throne. While desiring to extend his territories, he also declared his determination to suppress the slave-trade, and had not only issued orders, but had begun by establishing an Egyptian camp of 1000 men at Fashoda in the Shillûk country. The method of operations adopted by the slave-traders has already been mentioned, and they soon utterly ruined the country. It was only a few years since the time (1853) that Mr. John Petherick, the English consul for the Soudan, started on the first trading voyage to the upper waters of the White Nile. Other traders had followed, tempted by the large quantities of ivory which could be obtained; and far in the country of Bahr el Ghazal (or "Bahr Gazelle") these traders established fortified posts, held by bands of armed men commanded by Arabs. The cursed lust of gain soon caused some to set the evil example of following a more profitable trade. Slaves paid better than ivory, and there were numerous villages where slaves were to be had for the hunting, while, even if they tried to defend themselves, they would almost certainly be defeated by the superior weapons of their assailants, and prisoners of war would become merchandise. This was what led to the Europeans selling their stations to the Arab agents. The scandal had become so great that they dared not persevere in the nefarious traffic, and so got all they could from their successors, who were quite ready to continue it with a reckless ferocity that more than half depopulated the country, and left provinces that had once been fertile and beautiful mere desert scenes of ruin and decay. Twenty years ago Captain Speke, writing of "those ruffian traders on the White Nile," said, "The atrocities committed by these traders are beyond civilized belief. They are constantly fighting, robbing, and capturing slaves and cattle. No honest man can either trade or travel in the country; for the natives have been bullied to such an extent that they either fight or run away according to their strength or circumstances."

Dr. Schweinfurth, who spent three years with the slave-hunters,

says, "There are traces still existing which demonstrate large villages and extensive plots of cultivated land formerly occupied the scene where now all is desolation." Sir Samuel Baker declared that the wasting and depopulation of the country was caused by razzias made for slaves by the governors of Fashoda, the chief station of the Shillûk country. In 1864 he had first seen the Victoria Nile. In 1872 he revisited it and wrote: "It is impossible to describe the change that has taken place since I last visited this country. It was then a perfect garden, thickly populated and producing all that man could desire. The villages were numerous; groves of plantations fringed the steep cliffs on the river's bank; and the natives were neatly dressed in the bark cloth of the country. The scene has changed! All is wilderness! The population has fled! Not a village is to be seen! This is the certain result of the settlement of Khartûm traders; they kidnap the women and children for slaves, and plunder and destroy wherever they set their foot."

That Ismail Pasha should have desired to extend his territory, and to recover from the blight and ruin that had fallen on them lands exuberantly fertile by nature, is not to be wondered at; but, unhappily, while his motives were called in question, the means for accomplishing his desires could only be obtained by borrowing largely. People who suspected him, and believed that they had reason to doubt both his integrity and his ability, seemed to have a good argument in his notorious extravagance and the increasing embarrassment of the financial affairs of the government. Apart from this, however, there can be no doubt that he renewed those efforts for the development and national prosperity of Egypt which had been initiated by Mohammed Ali, but had almost sunk into abeyance under Abbas Pasha, and were prevented from reviving under Said Pasha, because he was a less imperial borrower than Ismail, and did not contrive (perhaps did not dare) to obtain the almost boundless credit which ended in the bankruptcy of the exchequer and the deposition of the sovereign.

It must be admitted, however, that the efforts made by Ismail to suppress the slave-trade, which he had always been denouncing,

restored civilization and comparative prosperity to a considerable territory. The addition to his dominions was such that the Egyptian settlements on the Nile, which had extended only to about 120 miles south of Khartûm, had increased till, in 1880, fortified posts were found between the Lakes Albert and Victoria Nyanza, little more than two degrees north of the equator. And the line of conquest had not followed the course of the Nile only. By the subjugation of Darfûr the Egyptian border came within less than fifteen days' march of Lake Tchad, while in the east, lands had been annexed which were washed by the lower part of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden.[1]

The scheme proposed by Ismail Pasha was wide and effective, and if it could have been permanently accomplished would have raised Egypt to a position of wealth and influence which she has never yet achieved. The annexation of the Nile basin, the opening of the equatorial lakes to steam-vessels, and the establishment of commerce, supported by an able and efficient government, were the objects which he professed to have in view, and his sincerity was evinced by his determination not to intrust this momentous enterprise to any of his Egyptian officers, but to give large and almost irresponsible authority to an Englishman. At that time the authority of Egypt in the Darfertit country was little more than nominal, and in Donga it exercised power only along the river valley to Gondokoro. To Sir Samuel Baker, therefore, a firman was issued in April, 1869, giving him absolute power over all the country south of Gondokoro, that he might extend the annexations as far as the equator, and entirely suppress slave-hunting and the slave-traffic in this its very centre.

As Sir Samuel Baker remarked, the employment of an European to overthrow the slave-trade in deference to the opinion of the civilized world, was a direct challenge and attack upon the assumed rights and necessities of his own subjects. The magnitude of the operation could not be understood by the general public in Europe. Every household in Upper Egypt and in the Delta was dependent upon slave service; the fields in the Soudan

[1] *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa.* Preliminary sketch by the editor, G. Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L.

were cultivated by slaves; the women in the harems of both rich and middle-class were attended by slaves; the poorer Arab woman's ambition was to possess a slave; in fact, Egyptian society without slaves would be like a carriage devoid of wheels—it could not proceed.

The slaves were generally well treated by their owners; the brutality lay in their capture, with the attendant lawlessness and murders: but that was far away, and the slave proprietors of Egypt had not witnessed the miseries of the weary marches of the distant caravans. It was obvious that an attack upon the slave-dealing and slave-hunting establishments of Egypt by a foreigner—an Englishman—would be equal to a raid upon a hornets' nest, that all efforts to suppress the old established traffic in negro slaves would be encountered with a determined opposition. Had the enterprise been placed under the command of a native officer, it is almost certain that he would have become demoralized by the facilities with which money could have been made, and would have either secretly started or openly joined in the traffic. At one of the stations where Sir Samuel Baker sent for the agent commanding the company, to explain to him that he would not be permitted to send cargoes of slaves down to Khartûm, the fellow was incredulous that the orders for the suppression of the slave-trade would be enforced against his employer, who had been placed in command of a government expedition by the governor-general of the Soudan, though he was known to be one of the principal slave-traders of the White Nile. So utterly incorrigible were the people with regard to this traffic, that Sir Samuel Baker with his followers and his armed force had only been at this station one day when one of his sailors deserted to the slave-hunters, and the colonel, Raouf Bey, reported that several officers and soldiers had actually purchased slaves from the station—so that the troops who were employed under Baker's command to suppress the traffic would quickly have converted the expedition into a slave-market. Another suggestive incident, recorded on the same day, was the attempted desertion and recapture of one of the black soldiers, a fine young fellow, a native of Pongo,

who had been taken as a slave and had become a soldier against his will.

The condition of Central Africa and the White Nile at the time when Sir Samuel Baker organized his expedition was such that only a very powerful and long-continued effort could have remedied it, and that effort has never yet been maintained. A large and almost boundless extent of country of great fertility, with a healthy climate favourable for the settlement of Europeans, with a mean altitude of 4000 feet above the sea level, and well peopled by a race who only required the protection of a strong but paternal government to become of considerable importance, and to eventually develop the great resources of the soil, had been made desolate, and the slave-trade prospered to the detriment of all improvement. The slave-hunters and traders who had caused this desolation were for the most part Arabs, subjects of the Egyptian government, who had deserted their agricultural occupations in the Soudan, and had formed companies of brigands in the pay of various merchants at Khartûm, and frequently officered by soldiers who had deserted from their regiments. It was supposed that about 15,000 persons, who should have been working at honest callings in Egypt, were engaged in the so-called ivory trade and slave-hunting of the White Nile. An individual trader, named Agād, assumed the right over nearly ninety thousand square miles of territory. It was impossible to calculate the number of slaves taken annually from Central Africa, but Sir Samuel Baker concluded that at least fifty thousand were either captured and held in the various *zarebas* or camps, or were sent *viâ* the White Nile and the various routes overland, by Darfûr and Kordofan. Of course the people of the country were suspicious and hostile to all strangers, and the evil did not stop there. The armed scoundrels who held such an extensive territory in subjection fomented hostilities between the tribes, and made alliances with some to help them to destroy their neighbours, to carry off their wives and children, and vast herds of sheep and cattle. Those natives who had not fled from their homes to distant districts often remained only to join their aggressors in

ruining and enslaving other tribes. The result was a condition of savagery without government, laws, or security, and it was to change this that authority was given to Sir Samuel Baker for five years, in which it was hoped he would be able to subdue to the Egyptian government the countries to the south of Gondokoro, to suppress the slave-trade, to introduce a system of regular commerce, to open to navigation the great lakes of the equator, and to establish a chain of military stations and commercial depots, distant at intervals of three days' march, throughout Central Africa, accepting Gondokoro as the base of operations. The expedition, which consisted of a strong armed force, and engineers, constructors, labourers, and various officers, was not regarded favourably by the officials at Cairo, nor did the authorities here give it any countenance. In fact, the appointment of Sir Samuel Baker as the sole and supreme governor of the territories to be controlled, was looked upon with some foreboding of possible political troubles, and consequently a note was despatched from the foreign office to the consul-general of Egypt, stating that British subjects belonging to Sir Samuel Baker's expedition must not expect the support of their government in the event of complications. Sir Samuel Baker says: "The enterprise was generally regarded as chimerical in Europe, with hostility in Egypt, but with sympathy in America."[1]

The English "governor-general of the equatorial Nile basin" set to work with immense energy, and determined to overcome difficulties which had always seemed to be insuperable. One of the chief of these was the obstruction of the White Nile by enormous masses of vegetation, which prevented navigation and actually closed the river.

At Gondokoro he had caused to be specially constructed a steel steamer of 108 tons, and had left ready packed for land transport another steel steamer of 38 tons and two steel life-boats, each of 10 tons, for conveyance to the Albert Nyanza, while at Khartûm he had left in sections a steamer of 251 tons. All these vessels had been brought from England, and conveyed with incredible

[1] *Ismailia*, by Sir Samuel W. Baker Pacha.



THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE SOUDAN—Convoy of Slaves on the March.

BLACKIE & SON: LONDON, GLASGOW, AND EDINBURGH

trouble upon camels across the deserts to Khartûm. Besides these there were steam saw-mills, a large quantity of tools and machinery, a great store of merchandise for the purpose of establishing trade, and calico, handkerchiefs, common jewelry, and innumerable articles intended for presents to the native chiefs and kings, besides stores, clothing, and provisions for the expedition, which would be for three or four years out of reach of any certain means of obtaining many of the necessaries of life. Six steamers, varying from 40 to 80 horse-power, were ordered to leave Cairo in June, together with fifteen sloops and fifteen diahbeeahs or travelling boats, in all thirty-six vessels, to ascend the cataracts of the Nile to Khartûm, a distance by river of about 1450 miles. These vessels were to convey the whole of the merchandise. Twenty-five vessels and three steamers were ordered to be in readiness at Khartûm, where the governor-general, Djiaffer Pasha, was to provide them by a certain date, together with the camels and horses necessary for the land transport. When the fleet should arrive at Khartûm from Cairo, the total force was to be nine steamers and fifty-five sailing vessels of about fifty tons each. The artillery (rifled mountain guns for throwing shells), a supply of rockets, and fifty Snider rifles with 50,000 rounds of ammunition, had come from England, and a large portion of the stores, the clothing, and all the medicines and drugs, had also been selected and ordered in England by Sir Samuel Baker himself, who, in fact, was indefatigable in making all the arrangements. For the transport of the heavy machinery across the desert he employed gun-carriages drawn by two camels each; the two sections of steamers and of life-boats were slung upon long poles of fir from Trieste, arranged between two camels in the manner of shafts, and these poles were afterwards used at headquarters as rafters for buildings. The military force comprised 1645 troops, including a corps of 200 irregular cavalry and two batteries of artillery. The infantry were two regiments, supposed to be well selected, the black or Soudan regiment, including many officers and men who had served for some years in Mexico with the French army under Marshal Bazaine; the Egyptian regiment turned out to be

for the most part convicted felons, who had been transported for various crimes from Egypt to the Soudan. It will thus be seen that the expedition was of a very important character, and it might have had more permanently effectual results but for the opposition of the Egyptian officials almost without exception. That opposition had one weapon which in Egypt is always a powerful and frequently a fatal one—delay. In a country where deserts have to be traversed, and where the great highway is a river unnavigable for vessels of any size, except at one period of the year, there is no difficulty in postponing, or in other words preventing, such an undertaking, if the preparations or provisions for it are left to persons interested in defeating it.

Baker brought up the rear by another route by way of Suakim on the Red Sea, from which the desert journey to Berber on the Nile is 275 statute miles, and thence to Khartûm by river 200 miles. Khartûm, then a forlorn, muddy, and malodorous town, had been deserted by half the inhabitants, and the surrounding country was abandoned, the once verdant and cultivated banks of the river had been suffered to remain untended and had become mere wilderness, irrigation had ceased, the villages were silent, and the population gone. They had fled from oppressive taxation, and numbers of them had taken to the slave-trade on the White Nile; had escaped from the hated tyranny of the tax collector to become abettors of the more atrocious tyrants who seized not only upon all the possessions of their victims, but upon their women and children. This desolation was caused by the governor-general of the Soudan, who considered it to be his business only to collect and to increase the taxes. In one year he had sent to his master £100,000 wrung from the peasantry, and as probably as much more was taken by the collectors in the shape of private extortion, there was nothing left to the toiler but flight or starvation. A strange condition of things, in which the money required for the purpose of suppressing slavery in the equatorial Nile basin was obtained by means which either reduced the peasantry of the Soudan themselves to a vassalage little better than, and as far as personal well-being was concerned, inferior to, that of the slaves in

Egypt, or as an alternative incited the over-burdened wretches to abandon their villages and join the ranks of the slave-hunters, for whose suppression a costly expedition had been ordered and additional taxes imposed. This, at all events, is one view of the situation; but it should not be forgotten that the suppression of these hordes of scoundrels, who had half-depopulated and ruined vast and fertile territories, was a righteous and even an absolutely necessary work, which would have been well worth the sacrifice of luxury and extravagant self-indulgence, and also that the people around Khartûm and their rulers were always accustomed to regard the traffic in slaves as a profitable commercial undertaking offering a tempting alternative to legitimate and productive labour. But there were endless complications. At the very time that the governor of Khartûm had neglected to prepare vessels for the transport of troops for this expedition, he had been busily engaged in procuring a squadron of eleven vessels for an expedition to the Bahr Ghazal, where it was intended to form a settlement at the copper mines on the frontier of Darfûr, and this government expedition had, as we have seen in a previous page, been intrusted to the command of one of the most notorious slave-hunters in the country.

Many things contributed to the delay of Sir Samuel Baker's enterprise. The vessels and the sailing flotilla from Cairo should have started early in June to ascend the cataracts at Wady Halfa at the time of high Nile; but Ismail Pasha was on a visit to Europe, and did not return till the end of August. Again, there were the preparations for celebrating the inauguration of the Suez Canal by magnificent festivities, to which many distinguished visitors had been invited, so that every available vessel was required for the occasion. In addition to these causes of procrastination, however, there was the bitter hatred of the officials, and their friends the slave-traders, to an expedition which they foresaw, if conducted with energy, might stamp out their business.

The energy and determination of Sir Samuel Baker, though it could not prevent the loss of a year, was sufficient to overcome repeated obstacles, and the authority he had received was so

complete that he could command assistance, even though it was rendered so reluctantly and imperfectly that the entire scheme was in danger, and was eventually carried out with a less complete organization, and probably at a greater expense, than was originally contemplated. When the vessels were ready and equipped, the flotilla of ten steamers and thirty-one sailing-vessels with a military force of 800 men prepared to start; sailors had been engaged with great difficulty, for the boatmen had all run away from Khartûm, where everyone endeavoured to avoid the expedition. At last, however, on the 8th of February, 1870, it got away; but the entry in Sir Samuel Baker's journal on that date was: "Mr. Higginbotham, who has safely arrived at Berber with the steel steamers in sections for the Albert Nyanza, will, I trust, be provided with vessels at Khartûm according to my orders, so as to follow me to Gondokoro with supplies and about 350 troops with four guns. My original programme—agreed to by his highness the khedive, who ordered the execution of my orders by the authorities—arranged that six steamers, fifteen sloops, and fifteen diahbeeas should leave Cairo on 10th June to ascend the cataracts to Khartûm, at which place Djiaffer Pasha was to prepare three steamers and twenty-five vessels to convey 1650 troops together with transport animals and supplies. The usual Egyptian delays have entirely thwarted my plans. No vessels have arrived from Cairo, as they only started on 29th August. Thus, rather than turn back, I start with a mutilated expedition, without a single transport animal."

The contingent from Berber did follow, and the expedition eventually arrived at Gondokoro; and there the expedition, with the aid of its artisans, shipwrights, and engineers, made a fortified camp or settlement of an extensive and efficient kind, and Sir Samuel Baker summoned the head-men of the natives in the district, the principal of whom were a division of the brutal and warlike tribe of the Baris, intractable savages, who were in close alliance with the slave-hunters, and were determined to oppose and harass those who had come to put an end to their traffic. After formal annexation of the country in the name of the Khedive of Egypt, the business of the enterprise began. The arduous task

that was before him did not dismay the leader, who had overcome tremendous difficulties during the passage of the river. The story is worth telling. From Khartûm the force on board the flotilla, with the merchandise and various appliances, made the passage to Fashoda, the government station in the Shillûk country, where, having taken on board a month's rations for all hands, they proceeded to the Sobat junction with the White Nile, arriving on the 16th of February. Between the Sobat junction and Khartûm the White Nile is a grand river, but south of the great affluent the travellers entered upon a region of vast flats and boundless marshes, through which the stream winds in a labyrinthine course for about 750 miles to Gondokoro. But the expedition was to make the voyage, not by the original White Nile, but by the Bahr Giraffe, a river which had been found to be a branch of the White Nile. This stream had been discovered by the slave-traders to offer a new route when the White Nile had become obstructed by vegetation, which had formed a solid dam, and had been, of course, left unopened by the Egyptian authorities. The result was that an extraordinary phenomenon was presented there. The great number of floating islands which are constantly passing down the stream of the White Nile, being prevented from passing onward, were by the force of the stream sucked under the great obstructive mass in front of them. In this way the channel, which had existed beneath the accumulated vegetation, was also choked; the river disappeared, or rather became a marsh, beneath which, by the great pressure of water, the stream oozed through innumerable small channels. Thus a dense spongy mass intercepted the mud and other impurities as the volume of the stream was checked and had to filter slowly through it; mud-banks and shoals were formed and spread, closing the original bed of the river, which the rapid growth of reeds and river-grass in such a soil and climate soon converted into a marsh covered with dense vegetation.

The Bahr Giraffe flowed at first through a country all flat prairie with occasional forests, and it soon became evident that the doubts which had been entertained whether large vessels could navigate it were not ill-founded. The difficulties were tremendous,

for the narrow and shallow parts of the stream were choked with successive masses of vegetation, through which a passage or canal 150 yards long had to be cleared by cutting through the high grass with swords sharpened for the purpose. The grass resembled sugar-canes, growing from twenty to thirty feet in length, and throwing out roots at every joint, so that they became matted in a tangled and almost impenetrable jungle; and in the wet season quantities of the mass broke away and floated on to accumulate wherever there was any impediment to the stream, and formed fresh barricades. The labour of cutting away great bundles of this grass, and towing them out by thirty or forty men hauling on a rope, was so extreme that numbers of the people became sick and almost exhausted after days of such work. In one day a force of 700 men cut about a mile and a half of the grass and vegetable refuse, which they piled on each side like banks upon the floating surface of vegetation. At one time the river was lost, and a way had to be cut through what appeared to be a morass. Worse still were the rotten accumulations which could not be piled up. The water flowed beneath the marsh, which swarmed with snakes and a venomous kind of ant. Crocodiles were also plentiful, but these and hippopotami were shot, and furnished the favourite food of the Soudanese troops, while antelopes, ducks, and partridges were killed at several points of the journey, and here and there in the pools there were quantities of fish. At length after all this labour, and the constant necessity for hauling the heavy vessels through the channels that had been cleared, it became evident that no more could be done. The river had apparently ended in a chaos of marsh and jungle, and as numbers of men were down with fever, and the greater part of the force was sick and almost incapable of working, Baker determined to retreat, and to make a station at some convenient spot on the White Nile beyond the Sobat junction, where they could prepare to renew the attempt in the following year. It would have been impossible to proceed, for the vessels which had led the way were most of them aground, and had to be hauled back into the water through which they had passed. The return journey was difficult, but there was more water, and

after tremendous exertions the whole expedition reached a station on the White Nile. After having done a very satisfactory stroke of business in detecting one or two slave depots, and insisting on liberating a large number of slaves, much to the discomfiture of the governor of Fashoda and other officials who were thus detected in being engaged in the atrocious traffic, a camp was established near a large native village, and there preparations were made, and heavy spades and other implements provided for renewing the exploration of the river in the following season, an enterprise which was successfully accomplished by the finding and clearing a canal passage into the White Nile, and the settlement of the headquarters at Gondokoro.

The detailed story of Baker's subsequent achievements, of his battles with native tribes in league with the slave-hunters, his explorations, and his sporting and hunting adventures, by which he provided his followers with meat rations from elephants, hippopotami, antelopes, crocodiles, and all kinds of birds, beasts, and fishes,—do not form any essential part of the narrative of British interposition in the Soudan; but the main results of his expedition in temporarily suppressing the slave-trade and opening up the country are very distinctly related to the history of recent events. Those results, however, were not maintained, and even the vigorous and practical genius of Colonel Gordon, who succeeded him, and was appointed governor-general of the Equator, could not destroy this traffic, to abolish which a strong permanent central government, with well appointed and freely communicating stations, was necessary. Nothing else could possibly overcome the persistent opposition of Egyptian officials, who are themselves interested in the iniquitous traffic. What could have been a more emphatic proof of the futility of a merely temporary experiment for the suppression of the slave-trade, than the fact, that the very provinces which Baker was authorized to annex had already been leased by the Governor-general of the Soudan to a notorious slave-trader, Achmet Sheikh Agad, whose son-in-law and partner, Abu Saoud, was still more notorious, and so powerful that Gordon afterwards attempted to conciliate him and make use of his

influence, but found him so treacherous that means had to be taken to abandon him altogether and to destroy his authority.

Baker left Gondokoro for the south in January, 1872, and on the 14th of May had reached Massindi, where he proclaimed Ungoro an Egyptian province, and afterwards organized military posts in the country, and established friendly terms with M'tésé, the king of Uganda. The authority of the Khedive of Egypt, therefore, extended to within two degrees of the equator. That the slave-trade was suppressed in the annexed territory as well as on the Nile there can be little doubt, and there would have been no outlet for it in the direction of Khartûm if the Egyptian officials had possessed common loyalty and honesty.

In 1873 Baker returned to Cairo, having, as he said, achieved the success of a foundation for a radical reform in the so-called commerce of the White Nile. Before his arrival in the Soudan the entire river force of the steamers on the Blue and White Niles was represented by four very inferior vessels. He added six from Cairo, and built a seventh, leaving a force of eleven steamers working on the river, exclusive of two in sections. There were stations garrisoned by regular troops at Gondokoro, Faliko, Foweera, and Fabbo, and by newly raised irregulars at Farragenia and Faloro.

The main difficulty in his original enterprise was, as we have seen, the obstruction of the White Nile. After the tremendous and yet tedious work of cutting through fifty miles of swamp and agglomerated vegetable matter, by way of the Bahr Giraffe, he requested the khedive to order the governor of Khartûm immediately to commence the reopening of the White Nile; and in obedience to the instructions that were issued, the work was completed in two years, though not without the loss of several vessels, which were overwhelmed by the sudden bursting of vast masses of floating swamp and entangled weeds. It had been necessary to commence below stream, that the blocks of vegetation might escape when they were detached from the main body. A few months after the expiration of Baker's appointment, however, the river was restored to navigation, and was soon cleared for

large vessels, and six steamers, which had been sent up from Cairo to ply between Khartûm and Gondokoro, but had been only employed as far as Fashoda station, at once formed rapid and regular communication with the equatorial provinces—and Gondokoro was in communication with the outer world, from which it had formerly been excluded. Beside these vessels there were at Gondokoro and Khartûm the large steel steamers already mentioned, and the two steel life-boats for conveyance to the Albert Nyanza, all of which had been built in England, and conveyed with enormous difficulty across the deserts to Khartûm.

Baker returned to Cairo at the close of his enterprise, in August, 1874. He had achieved, as far as was possible, the objects for which his expedition had been organized; but, as Colonel Gordon afterwards discovered, the condition of the country with regard to the slave-trade is like that of a portion of the river in which Sir Samuel Baker had to force a passage, where the corruptions that impede navigation are composed of a mass of rottenness, in which the attempt to clear a way is frustrated, because the moment there is any relaxation of exertion the semi-fluid mass pours back again and chokes the channel.

Continuous effort, such as that which had been maintained for five years, was too great a burden upon the revenue of a country already suffering under an increasing debt, which threatened to overwhelm its resources, and had contributed £17,000,000 in money to the construction of the Suez Canal, which had diminished the revenue by diverting a large and increasing traffic from the Egyptian ports and railways. The khedive was, so to speak, already in the hands of the bill brokers, and it was thought to be necessary that he should diminish the expenditure, which was threatening to involve the country in liabilities, which he, at all events, would never enable it to discharge.

Baker's expedition had been organized on an extensive scale, and it necessarily entailed a large demand upon the treasury; but if the khedive was disappointed in the results, he must have been very imperfectly acquainted with the difficulties which had been overcome in order to suppress the slave-traffic on the White Nile

for a distance of 1600 miles, from Khartûm to Central Africa, and to open up the country to regular government, the development of legitimate commerce, and renewed cultivation. But, at anyrate, the experiment was not followed on the same scale; and in order to prevent the evils that had arisen from the almost irrepressible authority of the governor of Khartûm, the government of the Soudan was changed by dividing it into provinces under responsible governors, who were more or less independent of him: Fashoda being intrusted to Ussuf Effendi, Khartûm to Ismail Yacub Pasha, and Berber to Hussein Kalifa. It would have been utterly futile to expect the effects of Baker's expensive enterprise to be lasting without further means being adopted to establish what had been temporarily secured, however, and the attention of the khedive was directed to Colonel Gordon of the Royal Engineers, an officer whose extraordinary services in command of the "ever victorious army" which suppressed the Taiping rebellion in 1863 and 1864, had made him famous.

Of this hero—whose noble simple character, and marvellous personal authority over all those who came within his influence, eminently fitted him for a leader of men—we shall have much more to say in a future page, for he is still the central figure in the later history of British intervention in Egypt and the Soudan. The attention of the whole civilized world has been fixed upon him, the admiration of people of every nation has been aroused by his simple, unselfish courage and devotion, and men and women throughout Europe and America have mourned his death. The story of his noble life had begun while he was yet a lad in the trenches before Sebastopol, and at the age of thirty-one he had achieved a reputation of which no general description could be more complete than that of the *Times*, which thus summarized his services in an article published in August, 1864: "Never did soldier of fortune deport himself with a nicer sense of military honour, with more gallantry against the resisting, and with more mercy towards the vanquished, with more disinterested neglect of opportunities of personal advantage, or with more entire devotion to the objects and desires of his own government, than this officer,

who, after all his victories, has just laid down his sword. A history of operations among cities of uncouth names, and in provinces the geography of which is unknown except to special students, would be tedious and uninstructive. The result of Colonel Gordon's operations, however, is this: he found the richest and most fertile districts in China in the hands of the most savage brigands. The silk districts were the scenes of their cruelty and riot, and the great historical cities of Hang Chow and Soochow were rapidly following the fate of Nan King, and were becoming desolate ruins in their possession. Gordon has cut the rebellion in half, has recovered the great cities, has isolated and utterly discouraged the fragments of the brigand power, and has left the marauders nothing but a few tracts of devastated country and their stronghold of Nan King. All this he has effected, first by the power of his arms, and afterwards still more rapidly by the terror of his name."

The Chinese government conferred on him the yellow jacket and the peacock's feather; thus he became a mandarin of a high order, and received the rank of Ti Tu, the most distinguished in their army. It was difficult to reward a man who cared little for honours and refused presents. Sir Frederick Bruce, writing from Hong Kong, and inclosing to Earl Russell (who was then foreign secretary) a translation of the decree of the Chinese emperor, said:—

"Lieutenant Colonel Gordon well deserves her majesty's favour; for, independently of the skill and courage he has shown, his disinterestedness has elevated our national character in the eyes of the Chinese. Not only has he refused any pecuniary reward, but he has spent more than his pay in contributing to the comfort of the officers who served under him and in assuaging the distress of the starving population whom he relieved from the yoke of their oppressors. Indeed, the feeling that impelled him to resume operations after the fall of Soochow was one of the purest humanity."

Gordon had been promoted to a lieutenant colonelcy, and received the title of "Companion of the Bath." Still greater honour was the address sent him by the merchants of Shanghai

and other native and foreign residents. This he received and answered gratefully, but he would have no money. The Empress of China sent him a gold medal inscribed with words of praise and compliment. In after years he obliterated the inscription, and sent the medal as a contribution to the relief of the distress in Lancashire during the cotton famine.

"I leave China as poor as when I entered it," he wrote home; and so he did in one sense, but he was so rich in the admiration and respect of those whom he had rescued and befriended, that his sensitive and vigilant conscience may have seen even in that a temptation to swerve from the rigorous simplicity which he had determined to make his rule of life, and the old adjuration, "Beware when all men praise thee," probably had for him a deep spiritual significance.

We may, however, defer to a subsequent and more appropriate page of the present narrative the more than romantic records that illustrate this man's truly heroic life, and need only in the present chapter touch briefly on his appointment to the governorship of the Equator, when Sir Samuel Baker had accomplished his term of office, and on his subsequent nomination to the governorship of the Soudan.

In 1865 Gordon was appointed to the duty of superintending the construction of the defences of the Thames, and took up his abode at Gravesend. There he remained for nearly six years quietly attending to the work that he so well understood. The comparative retirement suited him. He was as indifferent to what the world usually calls fame as he was to the possession of wealth. It may almost be said that he took as much trouble to be forgotten, or to remain in tranquil obscurity, as other men take to obtain a general acknowledgment that they have done something to merit the acclamations of society. He disliked what is known as publicity, nor would he consent to talk about himself or his achievements. He endeavoured to live the divine life of unselfishness, that is to say, a life in which the consideration of himself or his own gratification or convenience had no place, and he succeeded. The time that was not occupied in the duties to

which he assiduously attended, he devoted almost entirely to beneficent work among the poor of the district, teaching at the ragged-school, visiting the sick in hospitals and workhouses, giving relief to those who were in want, and helping numbers of people who applied to him in their distress. This commanding officer of engineers was also teacher, missionary, and general benefactor. None applied to him in vain. He always loved the society of children, and the boys—the poor little ragged scarecrows employed or unemployed about the river shore and the town—found in him a friend who took them from the gutter and clothed and fed them, and even gave them a home in his house till he could find berths for them on board ships, or situations for those who were unfit for sea. For these lads, whom he called his "kings," he formed reading classes which he superintended himself, reading to and teaching the lads with as much ardour as if he were leading them to victory, as indeed he was.

It is astonishing how easily a man who desires to be unnoticed by the world may have his wish gratified; but if he be such a man as Charles George Gordon he will deeply appreciate the tender regard of the few friends who are near and dear to him; nor can a man so distinguished as he was, continue to live in obscurity. The able and scrupulous discharge of a duty which is of public importance will lead to his being called to other duties which his conscience will remind him he cannot consistently refuse.

At the end of 1871 Colonel Gordon was appointed as British member of the Danubian Commission, the chief business of which is to improve the navigation of the mouth of the river Danube by deepening the channel. Each of the great powers of Europe is represented by a member of the commission, and the present deep Sulina Channel, by means of which large vessels can load at the wharves of Galatz and Braila, is mainly due to Gordon's professional skill. In 1872 Gordon was at the British embassy at Constantinople, and there met Nubar Pasha, the famous minister of the khedive, who had been a firm advocate of the expedition undertaken by Sir Samuel Baker. The term of that expedition would expire in the following year, and the Egyptian minister was anxious

to find a competent successor to the governorship of the country of the Nile basin.

To whom could he better apply than to the British Commissioner of the Danube to recommend an officer of the engineers who would be likely to accept, and able to fulfil, the arduous duties of such a position? To whom is it likely that the astute Armenian was mentally assigning the governorship, but to Gordon himself?

The colonel could not recommend anybody offhand, but promised to consider the matter. There was no occasion for haste, and he had time to think about it. The result was that he began to regard the government of the provinces and the suppression of the slave-trade in Central Africa as a mission to which he might be called upon to devote his best energies, and that remarkable faculty for dealing with semi-civilized races which had made his success in China so complete. To organize a plan, simple in execution and successful in putting an end to the atrocious traffic which had devastated and almost depopulated a vast territory, was a prospect which may well have fired the imagination and quickened the heart of a man like him, to whom religion was the perception and the unhesitating performance of duty, without distinction of high or low, and without fear or anxiety about the consequences to his own temporal interests or personal safety. In Central Africa he would find an almost illimitable field for active beneficence even amongst people to whom he might be called upon to show striking severity by the swift and certain punishment of traitors and oppressors.

In July, 1873, he wrote to Nubar Pasha, stating that he would be willing to accept the appointment if the khedive would himself apply to the English government to obtain permission for him to transfer his services. The application was made and received a favourable reply, and Gordon, after coming to England to make necessary preparations, set out for Cairo at the end of the year. He saw the khedive, who was willing that he should name his own terms, and the government, who thought that he could be induced to make a great show of state, as Egyptian officials would, urged him to take £10,000 a year. He refused to accept more than

£2000, though he afterwards was obliged to yield in the matter of engaging several attendants, most of whom he found to be of very little use, and so got rid of as soon as possible. His title, at which he himself laughed "as an extraordinary mixture," was "His Excellency General Colonel Gordon, the Governor-general of the Equator," and an abstract of the final instructions which he received at his departure, and dated February 16th, 1874, will show pretty well the nature and the extent of his duties.

"The province which Colonel Gordon has undertaken to organize and to govern is but little known. Up to the last few years it has been in the hands of adventurers, who have thought of nothing but their own lawless gains, and who traded in ivory and slaves. They established factories and governed them with armed men. The neighbouring tribes were forced to traffic with them whether they liked it or not. The Egyptian government, in the hope of putting an end to this inhuman trade, had taken the factories into their own hands, paying the owners an indemnification. Some of these men, nevertheless, had been still allowed to carry on trade in the district, under a promise that they would not deal in slaves. They had been placed under the control of the governor of the Soudan. His authority, however, had scarcely been able to make itself felt in these remote countries; the khedive, therefore, has resolved to form them into a separate government, and to claim as a monopoly of the state the whole of the trade of the outside world. There is no other way of putting an end to the slave-trade, which at present is carried on by force of arms in defiance of law. When once brigandage has become a thing of the past, and when once a breach has been made in the lawless customs of long ages, then trade may be made free to all.

If the men who have been in the pay of these adventurers are willing to enter into the pay of the government, Colonel Gordon is to make all the use of them that he can. If, on the other hand, they attempt to follow their old course of life, whether openly or secretly, he is to put in force against them the utmost severity of martial law. Such men as these must find in the new governor neither indulgence nor mercy. The lesson must be

made clear, even in those remote parts, that a mere difference of colour does not turn men into wares, and that life and liberty are sacred things.

One great error must be avoided into which others have fallen. The armament must be so well supplied with provisions that there shall be no need, as heretofore, to take from the tribes their stores of corn. By doing such things as this, distrust has been sown, where the khedive had hoped to establish a feeling of confidence. The land must be tilled by the troops and crops raised. If, as seems to be the case, Gondokoro is an ill-chosen position, situated as it is on a thankless soil, the seat of government must be moved to a more favoured spot. Among the natives who should be rescued from the slave-dealers many will be found who have been carried away from countries so far off that it would be impossible to restore them to their homes. They could be employed about the stations in tilling the ground.

Another object of the new governor should be to establish a line of posts through all his provinces, so that from one end to the other they may be brought into direct communication with Khartûm. These posts should follow as far as is possible the line of the Nile; but for a distance of seventy miles the navigation of that river is hindered by rapids. He is to search out the best way of overcoming this hindrance, and to make a report thereon to the khedive.

In dealing with the chieftains of the tribes which dwell on the shores of the lakes the governor is, above all, to try to win their confidence. He must respect their territory and conciliate them by presents. Whatever influence he gains over them he must use in the endeavour to persuade them to put an end to the wars which they so often make on each other in the hope of carrying off slaves. Much tact will be needed, for should he succeed in stopping the slave-trade while wars are still waged among the chiefs, it might well come to pass that for want of a market the prisoners would, in such a case, be slaughtered. Should he find it needful to exercise a real control over any one of these tribes it will be better to leave to the chieftains the direct govern-

ment. Their obedience must be secured by making them dread his power."

This was all remarkably concise, definite, and satisfactory; but remembering what had been Baker's experiences, and reading the instructions in the light of them, it seems to have been founded on an intention to pose in the face of Europe after European models. Baker with almost incredible exertion, courage, and determination had pioneered the way and found himself handicapped by the encouragement of slave-holders by the Egyptian government, and by the appointment of men of notorious lawlessness and violence to be governors and commanders of expeditions. With unyielding energy and pluck he had scotched the snake of slavery, if he had not killed it, and now he was left unhonoured and unsung, and the moral government of Ismail Pasha, the Khedive of Egypt, was reading a beautiful lecture to his successor, who very soon discovered that sincere as the khedive himself might be, no steps had been taken to remove, or even to reprove and threaten the governors and high officials, who continued their traffic in slaves in the country to which he was appointed governor in chief, but without sufficient power to depose or to punish those who were constantly defying the law.

Gordon detected the hollowness of the whole affair when he reached Cairo and began his official interview, and Baker it seems had warned him. "I paid a visit to Shereef Pasha, the minister of justice," he writes on the 9th of February, 1874, "and I took the opportunity of asking him to express to the khedive my ideas of giving up the affair if it did not pay, and let him understand that your brother was not an hireling. I did this rather sharply because I thought Nubar Pasha's manner was different."

Five days afterwards he wrote:—"I think I can see the true motive now of the expedition, and believe it be a sham to catch the attention of the English people, as Baker said. I think the khedive is quite innocent (or nearly so) of it, but Nubar is the chief man. Now what has happened? There has been a mutual disappointment: Nubar thought he had a rash fellow to do with who could be persuaded to cut a dash, &c. &c., and found he had

one of the Gordon race; this latter thought the thing real and found it a sham, and felt like a Gordon who had been humbugged."

In the preface to the narrative of his expedition[1] Sir Samuel Baker writes:—"It was evident that the result of the expedition under my command was a death-blow to the slave-trade, if the khedive was determined to persist in its destruction. I had simply achieved the success of a foundation for a radical reform on the so-called commerce of the White Nile. The government had been established throughout the newly acquired territories, which were occupied by military positions, garrisoned with regular troops, and all those districts were absolutely purged from the slave-hunters. In this condition I resigned my command, as the first act was accomplished. The future would depend upon the sincerity of the khedive, and upon the ability and integrity of my successor."

Evidently, however, Baker did not suspect the khedive himself of insincerity, for he goes on to say that his highness had "adhered most strictly to his original determination, and to prove his sincerity he intrusted the command to an English officer of high reputation, not only for military capacity but for a peculiar attribute of self-sacrifice and devotion." Generous and manly words, which he follows up by the triumphant expression of a belief that this appointment had "extinguished the delusions which had been nourished by the Soudan authorities, that 'at the expiration of Baker Pasha's rule the good old times of slavery and lawlessness would return.' There was no longer any hope, the slave-trade was suppressed, and the foundation was laid for the introduction of European ideas and civilization." After all his toil, heart-burning, and experience of treachery he retired from the thankless task, but still with enough of enthusiasm and loyalty to hail the appointment of a successor who would carry on, with higher ability and higher promise, the work that he had begun. Alas! Gordon, when his equally thankless task was accomplished, and he also had retired after having established greater order, and

[1] *Ismailia*, a book which is full of interesting adventure, and of information on the subject of the natives of Central Africa.

placed military stations along the Nile, was less hopeful, more depressed, than Baker had been. His splendid physical constitution had almost succumbed to continual fatigue, privation, and anxiety. To say nothing of the tremendous responsibility, the disappointment, and the many strong emotions which affected him —the physical exertion had been enormous. In travelling alone it was enough to wear out an ordinary man. In 1879 he had ridden 2230 miles through the deserts on camels, and 800 miles in Abyssinia on mules. In the three years, 1877, 1878, 1879, he rode 8490 miles on camels and mules: his average day's journey on camels being 32½ miles, and on mules 10 miles.

Reserving characteristic and interesting details of Gordon's personal experiences for a later part of this story, in which he will reappear, a glance may be taken at the successive steps by which he completed the enterprise to which he had been appointed. He was not the man to draw back, but he frequently felt that he was acting under the disadvantage of having to deal, not only with the treachery and falsehood of the hostile governors, who, knowing that he would defeat them in their nefarious schemes, gave him no assistance, and plotted against him continually, but also of a half-hearted support from the Egyptian government. He never could realize the utter baseness of many of the men whom he endeavoured to propitiate, and whose conspiracies he detected. They were incapable of appreciating the simplicity and nobility of the man who was ready to forgive them or to let them off with only just enough punishment to warn them against an immediate repetition of an offence.

The most conspicuous example of Gordon's method of gaining an influence over people by trusting them, was his taking Abu Saoud out of prison at Cairo and making him his lieutenant, but in that instance it was a conspicuous failure.

This man was a notorious ruffian, who had commanded the territory occupied by the largest combination of slave-hunters and dealers. He had over and over again endeavoured to destroy Baker's expedition by inciting the native tribes against it, and had been convicted on the clearest evidence, collected by Baker himself,

of acts of rebellion and treachery for the purpose of maintaining the traffic. Gordon released him because, though he knew his character and had been warned against him, he believed that his influence at the slave-dealing stations would be useful. Gordon wrote "he will be a very great help—he is built and made to govern." Not only Abu Saoud but several other slave-dealers were employed, and the result was that Gordon, but for his own extraordinary vigilance and penetration, would have been killed and his efforts frustrated by this treacherous scoundrel, of whom he got rid by sending him away, after having forgiven him and taken him back into his service on two occasions, when he discovered that he was plotting against him and robbing him. The other Dongolese slave-dealers were very much like him, but with less influence and persistent villany, and eventually they were all cleared out and sent about their business.

In following the account of Gordon's mission, as told in his letters, it is evident that he was enabled rapidly to complete the work he had undertaken, because of the pioneering of Sir Samuel Baker, whose expedition, though it is stated to have cost over a million pounds, included the establishment of a monopoly of the trade in ivory to the Egyptian government; and this was continued by Gordon with very great success. The great difficulty which the latter had to encounter was the revival of the slave-trade, even in the short time that had elapsed between the retirement of his predecessor and his own acceptance of office.

It was an immense extent of territory over which he had *nominal* control, a territory about the size of Europe omitting Russia. Khartûm is, in fact, about as far from Gondokoro as London is from Turin, and though both the Egyptian settlements lie on the same great river, they are, as we have seen, cut off from each other for months together by the barrier of rapidly growing vegetation which forms in its upper reaches.

Colonel Long, an American in the employment of the khedive, accompanied Gordon, and was intrusted with important expeditions, and made some able explorations.

Lieutenant Hassan Wussif and a number of European civil

employes also joined the expedition. Gordon found that only three stations were held by the Egyptian troops—mere posts—at Gondokoro, and (far to the south) at Fatiko and Foweira. A strong body of troops was needed to convey stores or even letters from one garrison to another. It was not till the twenty-first month after his arrival at Gondokoro that he reached Foweira, for the organization of this government required much time and great labour, and he had found out that he must, for the most part, trust to his own exertions in important matters to secure any satisfactory result.

The khedive gave him a firman as governor-general of the Equator and left him to do what he could. On an examination of affairs he found that he must get hold of the finances of the new province, and of the troops. This he effected by getting rid of Raouf Bey, the subordinate of Ismail Yacoob Pasha, governor of the province of Khartûm and commander of the troops at Gondokoro. Both these men were hostile—Raouf Bey, who, in 1880 or 1881, actually became Raouf Pasha and governor-general of the Soudan, went off to Cairo, and was made commander of the Harrar country, and Gordon then separated his finances entirely from those of Khartûm.

Raouf Bey received Gordon cordially enough at Gondokoro, where there was a garrison of 450 men, 150 of whom were Egyptian soldiers; that at Fatimo being composed of 200 Soudan soldiers. On the soldiers sent by the khedive the governor found he could place no reliance. "The khedive's people are incapable of civilizing these natives, and may generally be described as 'conies,' a feeble race.

"One Arab lieutenant came up to Moogie, and you never saw such a pitiable sight. He was muffled up like his veiled wife, who accompanied him to me, begging and praying in the loudest and most pitiable terms to be allowed to go back. . . . It is wonderful how effeminate these Arabs are. . . . The fact is these officers have committed some crime at Cairo, and are sent up here for punishment. They are the most useless set of beings I ever came across. . . . The horde we are is something fearful.

For every 100 soldiers there are 120 women and children, boys, &c., so 500 soldiers are equal to 1100 souls." And again of the black soldiers. "The soldiers will pillage *en route*. The natives collect and then run away, enticing the soldiers to follow them into ambushes. . . . It is no use telling these dolts that the natives' object is to entice them to separate. How cordially glad I shall be when the whole relations between us cease! I cannot help it, but I have taken such a dislike to these blacks that I cannot bear their sight. I do not mean the natives, but these soldiers. They are nothing but a set of pillagers, and are about as likely to civilize these parts as they are to civilize the moon. Though it tells against me in my operations, I am glad in my heart that they are afraid of the natives. It will be long before they get the whip-hand of them. The natives will be up to all sorts of dodges by the time the soldiers get consolidated in the country. . . . To my mind a semi-soldier, more civilian than soldier, is required for the command here." The latter remark was caused by the want of discipline and obedience, and the dense stupidity that could not or would not understand an order, or execute it if it could be passed on to some one else. In an outburst of indignation he writes:—"Cowardly, effeminate, lying brutes these Arabs and Soudanese!" It will be seen that Gordon had begun to discover what the real difficulties were in any undertaking for the purpose of improving the condition of the country under Egyptian influence. He had begun to find it out before he reached Khartûm, but he meant to go on in spite of it. In one of his letters at the beginning of 1876 he says:—

"I think the khedive likes me, but no one else does; and I do not like them—I mean the swells, whose corns I tread on in all manner of ways. . . . I saw ——— at Suez. He agrees with me in our opinion of the rottenness of Egypt: it is all for the flesh, and in no place is human nature to be studied with such advantage. Duke of This wants steamer—say £600. Duke of That wants house, &c. All the time the poor people are ground down to get money for all this. Who art thou to be afraid of a man? If He wills, I will shake all this in some way not clear to

me now. Do not think that I am an egotist; I am like Moses, who despised the riches of Egypt. We have a King mightier than these, and more enduring riches and power in Him than we can have in this world. I will not bow to Haman. . . ."

He afterwards began to think that the khedive would have preferred a commander with less energy, "an easy salary-drawing man." In fact he always was conscious that there was pretence in the professions of the Egyptian government, and that with one hand the slave-traders were threatened and with the other assured if not encouraged.

After reaching Gondokoro Gordon's first care was to occupy Bohr, an important position in the north, and to send Colonel Long on an expedition to M'tésé, King of Uganda. In June he commenced breaking up three large slave-trade stations on the Bahr el Zeraf, and established a strong post at Sobat, so strategically situated as to enable him to stop all the illegal traffic on the river. A boat would appear on its way from Gondokoro with a cargo of ivory and wood, all still on board, the crew perfectly innocent; but with an instinctive perception Gordon would have it searched, and there beneath the wood there were a number of slaves packed together, wretched, starving, and in misery. Then slaves and ivory were seized, and while the former had to be kept, because to liberate them at once would be to condemn them to be captured afresh, the ivory was put in stock to be sent to the Egyptian treasury.

It was when approaching the entrance of the Sobat river that some of his new subjects, a whole tribe of Dinkas, came out to meet him and his followers, not without great fear. With great difficulty the chief was induced to go on board with four of his people. He was in full dress—a necklace. They gave him some presents. He went up to Gordon, took each hand, and "gave a good soft lick to the backs of them; then held my face and made the motion of spitting in it."

This was the Bahr Gazelle; and they shortly reached the junction with the Gondokoro river and went on to Bohr, a great slave-trading place, where the people were not very civil when they

heard of the decree and of Gordon's mission. Two days previously the expedition had passed St. Croix, where a few banana trees were the only remains of the Austrian mission of which Speke had written in 1863: "The Austrian government, discouraged by the failure of so many years, had ordered the recall of the whole of the establishment for these regions. It was no wonder these men were recalled, for out of twenty missionaries who during the last thirteen years had ascended the White Nile for the purpose of propagating the gospel, thirteen had died of fever, two of dysentery, and two had retired broken in health, yet not one convert had been made by them. . . . The missionaries never had occasion to complain of these blacks, and to this day they would doubtless have been kindly inclined towards Europeans had the Nile traders not brought the devil amongst them." Baker, however, when with his expedition he had reached the place, said, "I had always expected trouble with the Baris, as I had known them during my former journey as a tribe of intractable savages. The Austrian missionaries had abandoned them as hopeless, after many efforts and a great expenditure of money and energy. The natives had pulled down the neat mission-house, and they had pounded and ground the light red bricks into the finest powder, which, mixed with grease, formed a paint to smear their naked bodies."

The slaves that were liberated, Gordon planted at Sobat, and encouraged them to cultivate the soil. He had formed an opinion that the wars between native tribes were often caused by the great deficiency of food; and it certainly appeared like it, when parents would sell their children as slaves for a measure of grain, and people who had stolen a cow and devoured it were quite contented to submit to one of their two boys being seized by the owner of the cow, who had probably stolen it himself.

Gordon, true to his actively beneficent nature, was constantly trying to alleviate the misery of the people among whom he was placed. The serenity of the man, notwithstanding outbursts of sharp, hot temper, his general good humour, his pity and ready forgiveness notwithstanding the decided and prompt severity with which he punished the treacherous slave-owning chiefs, and the

dauntless courage with which he would rush in upon them alone and unarmed and threaten them with vengeance, all make up a character which is a wonderful study. And not the least interesting part of Gordon's personality was his extraordinary sense of humour. In his letters, as in his conversation, the touches of merry description and of dry or rather sardonic humour are provocative alternately of hearty laughter or deep and serious reflection. One reflection, however, would be that the simple utterances of a truthful man, a man of single eye who speaks of the habits, the artificialities, and the aims of society as he sees them, are sure to appear like satires.

"I took a poor old bag of bones into my camp a month ago, and have been feeding her up; but yesterday she was quietly taken off, and now knows all things. She had her tobacco up to the last, and died quite quietly. What a change from her misery! I suppose she filled her place in life as well as Queen Elizabeth. . . . . A wretched *sister* of yours is struggling up the road, but she is such a wisp of bones that the wind threatens to overthrow her, so she has halted, preferring the rain to being cast down. I verily believe she could never get up again. I have sent her some dhoora, and will produce a spark of joy in her black and withered carcass. She has not even a cotton gown on, and I do not think her apparel would be worth one-fiftieth of a penny. . . . I had told my man to see her into one of the huts, and thought he had done so. The night was stormy and rainy, and when I awoke I heard often a crying of a child near my hut within the inclosure. When I got up I went out to see what it was, and passing through the gateway I saw your and my sister lying dead in a pool of mud. Her black brothers had been passing and passing, and had taken no notice of her. So I went and ordered her to be buried, and went on. In the midst of the high grass was a baby about a year or so old left by itself. It had been out all night in the rain, and had been left by its mother—children are always a nuisance! I carried it in, and seeing the corpse was not moved I sent again about it, and went with the men to have it buried. To my surprise and astonishment she was alive. After a considerable trouble

I got the black brothers to lift her out of the mud, poured some brandy down her throat, and got her into a hut with a fire, having the mud washed out of her sightless eyes. She was not more than sixteen years of age. There she now lies; I cannot help hoping she is floating down with the tide to her haven of rest. The babe is taken care of by another family for a certain consideration of maize per diem. . . . I prefer life amidst sorrows, if those sorrows are inevitable, to a life spent in inaction. Turn where you will there are sorrows and troubles. Many a rich person is as unhappy as this rag of mortality, and to them you can minister. 'This mustard is very badly made,' was the remark of one of my staff some time ago when some of our brothers were stalking about showing every bone of their poor bodies.

"Your black sister departed this life at 4 P.M., deeply lamented by me, not so by her black brothers, who thought her a nuisance. When I went to see her this morning I heard the 'lamentations' of something on the other side of a hut. I went round and found one of our species, a visitor of ten or twelve months to this globe, lying in a pool of mud; I am not sure whether he was not less in age. I said, 'Here is another foundling!" and had it taken up. Its mother came up afterwards, and I mildly expostulated with her, remarking, however good it might be for the spawn of frogs it was not good for our species. The creature drank milk after this with avidity."

"Do you know," he quaintly asks in another letter, "that the black babies when they make their first appearance are quite light coloured; they colour after a time like pipes?"

"Residence in these Oriental lands," he wrote afterwards, "tends, after a time, to blunt one's susceptibilities of right and justice, and, therefore, the necessity for men to return at certain periods to their own countries to reimbibe the notions of the same. Some men become imbued with the notions of injustice much quicker than others when abroad, but —— certainly has not taken much time to throw off all the trammels of civilized life, and to be ready to take up the unjust dealings of an Arab pasha. The varnish of civilized life is very thin, and only superficial. . . .

Man does not know what he is capable of in circumstances of this sort; unless he has the lode-star, he has no guide, no councillor in his walk.

"I feel that I have a mission here (not taken in its usual sense). The men and officers like my justice, candour, my outbursts of temper, and see that I am not a tyrant. Over two years we have lived intimately together, and they watch me closely. I am glad that they do so. My wish and desire is that all should be as happy as it rests with me to make them, and though I feel sure that I am unjust sometimes, it is not the rule with me to be so. I care for their marches, for their wants and food, and protect their women and boys if they ill-treat them; and *I do nothing of this—I am a chisel which cuts the wood, the Carpenter directs it.* If I lose my edge, He must sharpen me; if He puts me aside and takes another, it is His own good will. None are indispensable to Him."

On the 11th of September, 1874, twenty-five chiefs of the tribes round Gondokoro went in to pay homage to Gordon:—chiefs who had been at open enmity within the garrison, His determination to have justice done, his fearless dealing with them, his humanity and illimitable pity had begun to tell, and his rule had become successful, but the slave-trade was yet very far from being abolished, for in the following month the governor of Fashoda intercepted a convey of 1600 slaves and 190 head of cattle from the stations of Ratatz and Kutchuk Ali on the Bahr Zaraf.

At about this time Colonel Long had returned from his expedition to Uganda, and he reported that the King of Unyoro, with the slave-traders to back him, had shown himself to be very unfriendly. It was, therefore, determined that stations should be established at Laborah, Duffli, Fatiko, and Foweira. At the same time preparations were being made for the expedition to the lakes. The sections of the steamers which had been left by Baker at Gondokoro were sent forward by carriers to be put together at the Falls of Duffli, beyond which point there is a free passage to the lake Albert Nyanza. A trustworthy messenger was sent to M'tésé, who had shown himself to be friendly, and on

the 21st of November Gondokoro was abandoned as the head-quarters in favour of Lado, a more healthy spot a few miles down the river; a post was also established at Regaf, a short distance up the river.

Gordon had had a hard and yet monotonous time of it at Sobat, where there was so much sickness and death in his camp, though he himself, thin as a shadow, retained his health and strength marvellously, and was nurse and doctor as well as director and governor. The country on both sides the river was flat for sixty miles, not a soul to be seen for miles amidst the low forests and huge grasses, all the people had been driven off by the slavers in years past. "A fair and properly conducted emigration would be the best thing for these parts, and I think the blacks would gladly respond to such a scheme," he wrote. "It will be a very long time before much can be done to civilize them; the climate is against it, and there can be no trade, for they have nothing to exchange for goods. Poor creatures! They would like to be left alone. The Arabs hate these parts, and all the (Arab) troops are sent up for punishment; their constitutions, unlike ours, cannot stand the wet and damp and the dulness of their life. I prefer it infinitely to going out to dinner in England. . . . I agree that I have no patience with the groans of half the world, and declare I think there is more happiness among these miserable blacks, who have not a meal from day to day, than among our own middle classes. The blacks are glad of a handful of maize, and live in the greatest discomfort. They have not a strip to cover them; but you do not see them grunting and groaning all day long, as you see scores and scores in England, with their wretched dinner parties and attempts at gaiety, when all is hollow and miserable. If they have one thing they have not another."

Little as he regarded the difficulties of his responsible office, Gordon sometimes was ready to give up, and he eventually did so, though he was persuaded to return, with additional powers, to the Soudan. In September, 1875, he says of his followers:—"The men, unless you fly on them, will sit down and watch with calmness the

eyes starting out of the heads of some others who are hauling with all their force on a rope, without ever thinking of helping them. Without any reserve I could at this minute pack up and go back if shame did not prevent me. I have now quite made up my mind, God willing, to make these stations and *well* equip them, to quell the hostile tribes in the vicinity of them, to place next March, when the river rises, the steamer and six or eight nuggars above the cataracts; to quell, I hope, in December, Kaba Rega, and then to place forts along the Victoria Nile at Magungo, Anfina (Foweira already exists), Mrooli, and on Lake Victoria; to construct or acquire a flotilla for the Victoria Nile where navigable, and to put the small steamers together on the Victoria Lake. Not to go on the lakes at all, but as soon as that programme is completed to leave them altogether. . . . I am thoroughly disgusted. These people are unfit to acquire the country. . . . Some pasha will come, he will be a grand man, will neglect the stations, lose them perhaps, and the whole affair will die out, unless they send another foreigner, which they may do." This was written in 1875, in relation to the expedition to the lakes for which he had been preparing; but he had already by the close of the year 1874 reported the organization of governmental districts along the whole line of his provinces, the chief stations being (1) Sobat, at the junction of the Sobat river with the Nile, where there were 50 Soudan regulars; (2) Nasr, on the Sobat, garrison 100 Dongolese irregulars; (3) Shawbeh, 30 Soudan regulars, 150 Dongolese irregulars; (4) Makaraka, 20 Soudan regulars, 150 Dongolese irregulars; (5) Bohr, 10 Soudan regulars, 150 Dongolese irregulars; (6) Latuka, 10 Soudan regulars, 100 Dongolese irregulars; (7) Lado, headquarters, 180 Soudan regulars, 50 Egyptian regulars; (8) Regaf, 80 Soudan regulars; (9) Duffli (Ibrahimieh), 10 Soudan regulars; (10) Fatiko, 250 Soudan regulars, 100 Egyptian regulars; (11) Foweira, 100 Soudan regulars, 100 Egyptian regulars.

The White Nile had been mapped with very considerable accuracy from Khartûm to Regof; the slave-trade on that river had received a deadly blow; confidence and peace had been restored among the tribes round Gondokoro, who freely brought

in for sale their beef, corn, and ivory. Besides these achievements the work of opening a water communication between Gondokoro and the lakes had been seriously commenced. Communications had been established with M'tésé and the connection of Lake Victoria with Lake Albert, by way of the Victoria Nile, demonstrated; and government districts had been formed, and secure posts with intercommunication established. In a year the khedive had received £48,000 from the province, and Gordon had spent £20,000 at the outside, and had £60,000 worth of ivory in hand. One of his staff said, "He has certainly done wonders since his stay in this country. When he arrived, only ten months ago, he found a few hundred soldiers in Gondokoro who dare not go a hundred yards from that place, except when armed and in bands, on account of the hostile Baris. With these troops Gordon has garrisoned eight stations. . . . Baker's expedition cost the Egyptian government nearly £1,200,000, while Gordon has already sent up sufficient money to Cairo to pay for all the expenses of his expedition, including not only the sums required for last year, but the amount estimated for the current one as well."

It should not be forgotten, however, that Baker had to "lay down" the enterprise, to obtain steamers and boats, and to discover by experience the matters, the knowledge of which his successor profited by. He also commenced the government commercial monopoly which Gordon revived. To an impartial inquirer it does not seem that any comparison can be justly made of the expenditure incurred by the respective governors. Gordon really became independent of the Soudan government as regarded supplies, because he could raise them from his own resources. As early as the autumn of 1874 parties were sent out to levy taxes on the hostile tribes by demanding their cattle, and this had a salutary effect in keeping them quiet.

The scheme which Gordon had prepared at that time has been called the Juba River Expedition. The communications with Egypt *via* Khartûm were by no means satisfactory. The navigation of the river was full of difficulties, and there was a scarcity of

firewood for the steamers. A new base might be obtained if the khedive would send a small expedition to Mombaz Bay in the Indian Ocean, 250 miles north of Zanzibar, where a station could be established, and where a detachment could push inland towards M'tésé. The Mombaz Bay route, it was represented, would be shorter than that by Khartûm, and would much more effectually open up Central Africa. The khedive consented, and sent out an expedition under M'Killop Pasha of the Egyptian navy, with Colonel Long to command the proposed inland expedition. But there was trouble; the anchorage at the mouth of the Juba river was bad, and the expedition moving further south encroached on territory of the Sultan of Zanzibar, to whom the British government were to a certain extent bound by treaties concerning the slave-trade. The usual tangle occurred. The Zanzibar merchants feared for their equatorial trade, and the people of Aden for their supplies from the Somalis, who had been independent till Egypt had acquired a portion of their territory and levied taxes at their ports. There was a clashing of interests, amidst which the expedition was abandoned on the advice of the British government, the end of which was that the authority of the khedive was tacitly acknowledged as far along the coast as the 10th degree of north latitude, a result which gave Ismail Pasha the notion that he was entitled to the whole of the Red Sea coast, and could resist any claim of the Abyssinians to a port. It was also believed by the government of this country that a safeguard had been provided against European settlement on the coast, and that a way had been opened to a slave treaty with Egypt.

By the middle of 1876 Gordon had decided that he could do no more than he had already accomplished, his troops were mostly worthless, and yet he was in a continual state of war with the slave-hunting governors, who did all they could to frustrate his intentions. Among those from whom he suffered most, of course, was Ismail Yacoub Pasha, the governor-general of the Soudan, and as he had no support to enable him to withstand this man's treachery, he determined to throw up his command. Early in the year he had made preparations for Gessi to proceed to Lake

Albert Nyanza with two life-boats, while he himself proceeded towards Lake Victoria.

Gessi started in March, and succeeded in circumnavigating the lake in nine days, finding it to be only 140 miles long and 50 miles wide. The natives showed themselves hostile, and the west coast was inaccessible. In July the steamer was at last put together above the Duffli Falls, and the passage cleared to the Albert Lake. A treaty was made with M'tésé recognizing his independence, and Dr. Emin Effendi, a gentleman of German extraction, was sent to him as Gordon's representative.

Gordon himself did not return north, but in October was at Khartûm, having appointed Colonel Prout, an American officer, to the government of the province.

He writes in his journal on August 23d: "After careful study I decided on the following course: viz. when the troops return from Dubago to move with a hundred of them to Nyam Tongo and Urundojani, and survey the river and country between Mrooli and those places. . . . This bit of the Nile (between Urundogani and the lake) I am forced to give up. I avoid pushing it for fear of complications before we are ready for them. You can imagine how I feel about this bit of the Nile, for it is the *only bit* I have not done from Berber upwards to Lake Victoria; but reason says, 'divide and weaken your forces,' and so my personal feelings must be thrown over. I daresay a desire to be out of this country is mixed up with my decision, which will (*D. V.*) bring me to Khartûm about the middle of October, to Cairo in January, and home about February 5th, having been absent a few days over three years. My present idea is then to lie in bed till eleven every day, in the afternoon to walk not farther than the docks, and not to undertake those terrible railway journeys, or to get exposed to the questionings of people and their inevitable dinners; in fact, get into a dormant state, and stay there till I am obliged to work. I want oysters for lunch."

On the 2nd of December he arrived in Cairo, called on Cherif Pasha, minister for foreign affairs, and left it for him to inform the khedive of his having relinquished the command.

He arrived in London on the day before Christmas day, 1876. Nearly all his companions who went out with him had died or been invalided home, and he was suffering from overtoil, from the effects of the terrible climate in which he had lived, and from the long want of proper and nourishing food. Ismail Pasha now began to perceive that the man who had done this great work was entirely independent of him, and would no longer submit to the prevarications and neglect which made it impossible to hold the province without unceasing toil and disappointment.

Gordon had succeeded in checking slave-driving in his own province; but he could not stop it in the extensive Soudan district, where Khartûm is the head-quarters of the system. He had done all that seemed to be possible, but the khedive was exceedingly unwilling to lose his services, and people in authority in England also urged that it was his duty to return. He had only been at home about five weeks when he consented to return to Cairo to talk the matter over. He had made up his mind that he would not resume office unless he had the Soudan under his control, and he did not expect that Ismail Pasha would consent to give him so much power. "I have promised that if his highness will not give me the Soudan I will not go back to the lakes. I do not think he will give it, and I think you will see me back in six weeks," he wrote on the 31st of January. Then on the 13th of February, "I went to see H. H. He looked at me reproachfully, and my conscience smote me. He led me in, and Cherif Pasha came in. Then I began and told him all; and then he gave me the Soudan, and I start on Saturday morning."

The khedive had put Gordon in the place of the man who had so troubled him, and had so extended his duties that an immense territory was put under his rule; a province about 1640 miles long, with an average breadth of about 660 miles.

On the 17th of February the khedive wrote to Colonel Gordon:

"Setting a just value on your honourable character, on your zeal, and on the great services that you have already done me, I have resolved to bring the Soudan, Darfour, and the provinces of the Equator into one great province, and to place it under you as

governor-general. As the country which you are thus to govern is so vast, you must have beneath you three vakeels (or deputy-governors), the first for the Soudan properly so-called, the second for Darfour, and the third for the shores of the Red Sea and the Eastern Soudan. . . . There are two matters to which I would draw your attention: the first, the suppression of slavery; the second, the improvement of the means of communication. As Abyssinia for a great distance lies along the borders of the Soudan, I beg you when you are on the spot, to look carefully into the state of affairs there; and I give you power, should you think well, to enter into negotiations with the authorities of that kingdom, to the end that a settlement may be arrived at of the matters in dispute between us and them."

On the 18th of February, 1877, Colonel Gordon left Cairo for Suez on his way to Massowa, where he arrived on the 26th.

The khedive had given to Gordon a task which would have appalled a man of less single-minded determination. Affairs in Abyssinia were almost hopelessly entangled. On the retreat of Theodore to Magdala in the final scene of the English expedition, Kassai had assumed the title of "Johannis, King of Abyssinia." We have seen what had taken place there up to the time when Egypt had seized upon Bogos, and acquired other territory by the treachery of the governor. Egypt had still been hankering after an annexation of territory which was claimed by "Johannis," the successor of Theodorus, but, having been defeated in the attempt by Walad el Michael the hereditary Prince of Hamaçen and Bogos, whom Johannis had set free that he might go into his own country and raise his people against the Egyptian invaders, the khedive prepared another expedition commanded by Rahib Pasha, and having an American officer. By that time Walad el Michael had quarrelled with Johannis, and went over to the Egyptians, but the Abyssinian was too strong for them both, and utterly defeated them, so that the remnant of the Egyptian army had to get back to Massowa under a truce, while Walad el Michael had slipped off with his 7000 men to Bogos, and actually made a plunge into the province of Hamaçen, and killed the Abyssinian governor. This

so incensed the furious Johannis that he sent to Cairo offering to the khedive to cede Hamaçen—the very place to obtain which war had been made—if Walad el Michael were caught and handed over to him. The envoy was kept waiting in Cairo for three months, and then returned to Abyssinia without an answer. Johannis was now in a temper which made it unsafe for anybody to go near him, and this was the complication which Gordon was commissioned to clear up. The situation is quaintly explained by Gordon himself:

"There were two courses open to me with respect to this Abyssinian question: the one to negotiate peace with Johannis and ignore Walad el Michael, and if afterwards Walad turned rusty, to arrange with Johannis to come in and catch him. This certainly would have been easiest for me. Johannis would have been delighted, and we would be rid of Walad; but it would first of all be very poor encouragement to any future *secessions*, and would debase Egyptian repute. The process of turning in the polecat Johannis to work out the weasel (Walad) would play havoc with the farmyard (the country) in which the operation was carried on; and it might be that the polecat Johannis having caught the weasel Walad, might choose to turn on the hens (which we are), and killing us, stay in the farmyard. For, to tell the truth, we, the hens, stole the farmyard, this country, from the polecats when they were fighting among themselves, and before they knew we were hens. The other course open to me was to give Walad a government separated from Johannis, which I have done, and I think that was the best course; it was no doubt the most honest course, and though in consequence we are like a fat nut between the nutcrackers, it will, I hope, turn out well."

This arrangement, which Gordon himself knew well enough would be no more permanent than any other, and was only adopted because it was the simplest, and on the whole, perhaps, the most equitable, had to be rapidly effected, for affairs in the Soudan were looking dangerous.

The work that lay before him was almost appalling, and grateful as he was to the Khedive Ismail for giving him this apparently arbitrary power over such an enormous extent of territory, he

was soon to discover that his supposed prerogative was practically frustrated. He had no distinct authority to punish the chiefs and governors who were plotting his destruction, opposing him by force or treachery, and using all their influence to maintain the slave-trade, to suppress which was the very object of his mission. The declared punishment for slave-hunting chiefs by the decree of the khedive was from five months' to five years' imprisonment, but the purchase of slaves in Egyptian territory was legal, and it was not easy to determine whether a caravan of slaves had been bought within the prescribed limits. When the false and rebellious chiefs and officers who were to have aided Gordon, but whom he discovered to be, like the rest of Egyptian officials, utterly untrustworthy, were dismissed by him and sent away to Cairo, they should have been punished there, but were either unquestioned or treated with such leniency as to encourage others in their opposition to the efforts that he was making. Some of them actually appeared at the assemblies and balls given by the khedive at his palace, and were quite pleasantly received.

The only notice which reached Gordon from Cairo on the question of the slave brigands who were making war against him was an offer from Nubar Pasha to *send Zebehr*—Zebehr having promised Nubar to pay a revenue of £25,000 a year, a sum which he could only obtain by sending down slaves. Gordon, of course, declined that offer. "The way that the Cairo government support Sebehr, who is in Cairo, makes a very bad impression," he wrote, "for every one here thinks that I am the only obstacle to his return. Now H. H. knows that Zebehr has egged on his people to this revolt, that it was he who devastated the whole country, and that he alone is responsible for the slave-trade of the last ten years; and yet Zebehr has the *entrée partout*. . . . I am putting, in all the frontier posts, European Vakeels (sub-governors) to see that no slave caravans come through the frontier. I do not think that any now try to pass, but the least neglect of vigilance would bring it on again in no time. I shall give Gessi £1000 if he succeeds in catching Zebehr's son. I hope he will hang him, for if he is sent to Cairo he will be made much of."

The state of the law which hampered Gordon's endeavours was utterly confusing. In a letter of March 15th, 1879, he briefly says:—

"1. I have an order signed by the khedive to put to death all slave-dealers or persons taking slaves.

"2. I have the convention (between the British and Egyptian governments for the suppression of the slave-trade, signed at Alexandria, Aug. 4, 1877), which calls slave-taking 'robbery with murder.'

"3. I have the khedive's decree, which came out with the convention, that this crime is to be punished with five months to five years prison.

"4. I have a telegram from Nubar Pasha saying that 'the sale and purchase of slaves in Egypt is legal.'"

Added to these difficulties the authorities in Cairo were worrying him for money, while the pay of his soldiers was in arrear, the yearly deficit of the Soudan finances was £109,000 and the debts £300,000. No more than five-sixths of the revenue was ever obtained, because the collectors said to the heads of communities, "Pay me four-sixths of the sum due, and give as *backsheesh* to me one-sixth; then I will certify that you cannot pay the remaining sixth." This kind of peculation could not be checked in so vast a country with only Egyptian officials to work with.

These were the distressing conditions which he had to endure after more than two years' constant anxiety, frequent sickness, perpetual travelling on camels from place to place, and surrounded by war, treachery, and revolt; to say nothing of the harrowing cruelties of which he had to witness the results, and on the perpetrators of which he endeavoured to inflict chastisement. The loyalty of the man who reduced his own salary one half because of the appointment of a subordinate who would require to be paid, and the dismissal of worse than useless retainers, was manifest at the very outset of the expedition, when he left Abyssinia because of the report of a serious insurrection in Darfûr. He says:—"I have written to Vivian[1] to say that if anything happens

[1] The Hon. H. C. Vivian, the English consul-general.

to me the khedive is to be defended from all blame, and the accident is not to be put down to the suppression of slavery. I have to contend with many vested interests: with fanaticism, with the abolition of hundreds of Arnauts,[1] Turks, &c., now acting as Bashi-Bazouks, with inefficient governors, with wild independent tribes of Bedouins, and with a large semi-independent province, lately under Sebehr Pasha, at Bahr Gazelle."

His energy was tremendous. "I got here to-day," he wrote from Katarif, "after a very hot journey. We did it in a very short time—sixty hours, 150 miles. . . . With terrific exertions in two or three years time I may, with God's administration, make a good province, with a good army and a fair revenue, and peace and an increased trade, and also have suppressed slave raids; and then I will come home and go to bed, and never get up again till noon every day, and never walk more than a mile."

On the route from Kasala to Katarif on the Atbara Gordon noted a remarkable spectacle. There was a great fête as he and his escort came into the settlement, and there were a number of men in regular chain-shirts of links with a gorget; these chain-mail shirts reached to their feet. They had helmets of iron, with a nose-piece and fringe of chain-armour. They rode on horses which had a head and cheek defence, and were covered with a sort of quilt of different colours, that reached down to their feet. It reminded the colonel of the fêtes at Charlton, where they used to represent the ancient tournaments. All the swords were like the old crusaders'—straight, two-handed, and cross-hilted. Evidently these people had not changed since the Crusades.

Some months afterwards, at Dara, he found a number of ancient swords similar to those here mentioned; he also found some chain-armour which had been on the men who accompanied the Sultan Ibrahim when he was killed in the invasion of Darfûr. In a note on the subject Colonel Gordon wrote, "When the Crusaders ceased their attacks on the Mussulmans of the Arabian peninsula the latter found their land too crowded and began to emigrate. One band went up the Nile and swept along to the

[1] Greek Mohammedans from Albania.

west. They did not go further than 10 degrees N. latitude, because their camels could not live beyond this line. When they first settled in these lands, in the belt which stretches along 10° north latitude, they were few in number. They squatted and lived with the negro tribes. They increased and multiplied, and then began to influence these tribes, and induced them to become Mussulmans. These Bedouins still maintained their nomadic life, and to this day are a distinct people from the negro aboriginals. The armour, I believe, came up with the emigrants. The people of these lands say that it is as old as David King of Israel. Anyway it never was manufactured in these countries, and must have come from Syria. Kordofan, Darfûr, Wadi, Fertit, Bagirmi, Bornou, and Sokoto are Mussulman states founded by these settlers." It would thus appear that Mohammedanism has spread as far southward as the camel can exist; the tenth degree of north latitude being the limit of both.[1]

In the following year (1878), when Gordon had arrived at Dongola from Khartûm, a man had run after him *en route* with some Darfûr things which he brought as a present for his highness the khedive. "There was a helmet, a guard for the arm, a buckler, the spear, and the sceptre. The date on them was 280 of Hegira, which would make them 1015 years of age. They were evidently taken by some one at the capture of Fascher, and will make a nice present for H. H. I fear I had to give £100 for the things, but as they are a sort of regalia and as the money stays in the country, I did not grudge it. The buckler has many small figures around it in gilt, of men on horses hunting deer, and of falcons killing geese." Alas! Gordon soon discovered that he might as well have kept his money in his pocket. Writing in January, 1879, he says, "I am perfectly furious with H. H., for I see that he has given the whole of the splendid collection of arms and trophies which I had sent him from the Equator and the Soudan to a museum in Paris. Among them were the shield and helmet, &c., for which I gave £100 in solid coin of my own, and which I gave to H. H. Fancy H. H. giving a national collection

[1] Colonel Gordon in Central Africa.

like this which would have sold for £15,000, to a French museum when we are wanting £5 in this country."

Six days after leaving Khatarif, Gordon and his following were at Sennâr after travelling forty-five miles a day in the nights and mornings, tormented by myriads of biting beetles. In another six days he reached Khartûm, having stopped to give orders, write letters, consider petitions, and settling all kinds of applications at the stations which he passed through on his way.

He had, indeed; a stupendous task before him in attempting to reform the Soudan. "To give peace to a country quick with war; to suppress slavery among a people to whom the trade in human flesh was life and fortune; to make an army out of perhaps the worst material ever seen; to form a flourishing trade and a fair revenue on the wildest anarchy in the world. The immensity of the undertaking; the infinity of details involved in a single step towards the end; the countless odds to be faced; the many pests; the deadly climate; the horrible vermin; the ghastly itch; the nightly and daily alternations of overpowering heat and bitter cold—to be endured and overcome: the environment of bestial savagery and ruthless fanaticism—all these combine to make the achievement unique in human history," writes Mr. Hake in his biography of Gordon.

At Khartûm he was installed as governor-general, the cadi reading the firman and presenting an address. A royal salute was fired, and Gordon had to make his speech. It was pithy, but definite; and "pleased the people much." All he said was: "With the help of God I will hold the balance level." He celebrated the occasion by distributing to the deserving poor, gratuities amounting to a thousand pounds of his own money. He had first to encounter the opposition of Halid Pasha, the man who had been sent to him as his second in command, and who tried to bully him, but "after a two days' tussle" had to give in, and was all subservience, which, as usual, meant that he intended to frustrate what his chief was trying to do; a course which ended sometime afterwards in Gordon dismissing him and sending him back to Cairo, where he no doubt was received quite agreeably.

The sister of the former governor-general at Khartûm too showed her indignation at her brother's supercession by breaking all the windows in the palace—130 of them,—and cutting the divans or raised cushioned seats to pieces. Gordon had but a month in which to change the entire condition of affairs at Khartûm. He restored the authority of the former Ulemas; abolished flogging with the *kourbash*, under which ten to fifteen poor wretches had been made to suffer daily; and remitted the outstanding fines which had been inflicted on the people by the former grasping government. He could not entirely suppress the system of bribing officials by those who wanted places, and his head-clerk brought him considerable sums of money which had been given by people who sought situations worth about £200 a year—a salary which would necessarily be increased by the "perquisites" wrung from the people. He took the money and put it into the treasury, but did not punish the bribers, as they had "been brought up to it." The smaller bribing by persons who had petitions to present was stopped by providing a box with a large slit in it which was placed at the door of the palace to receive written complaints or requests, to which he gave prompt attention, and thus saved much valuable time by avoiding the long and formal personal interviews which would otherwise have been demanded by petitioners. Another reform was the provision of a simple system by which water was pumped up from the river to supply the city. The most difficult task which he accomplished, however, was the disbanding of about 6000 Turks and Bashi Bazouks, who formed the guards of the frontier, and persistently allowed the slave caravans to pass. This was absolutely essential, but was, of course, not completed without arousing the animosity and opposition of a large number of those who were deprived of their command.

Gordon could not remain at Khartûm. He afterwards said that he expected to ride 5000 miles that year; and it, indeed, appeared that only the most unsparing energy could enable him to meet the difficulties by which he was surrounded. Darfûr was in revolt. Haroun, the relative of the previous sultan, still claimed the throne, and took advantage of the discontent caused by the ill

government of the province to incite the people to insurrection. This was in February, 1877, and a very large number of men were ready to maintain the claims of Haroun since the Bedouin tribes, who had held aloof from the sultan when Darfûr was conquered in 1874, were now ready to uphold his claim. Darfûr and Kordofan were peopled by large tribes of Bedouins under their own sheikhs, and more than semi-independent, the country for the most part a vast desert, with wells few and far between, some of which were only known to those tribes. Some of the tribes could put from 2000 to 6000 horse or camel men into the field. One formidable weapon of the Darfurians was a long lance with a huge blade like a potato-hoe. Of these and the "assegais," which these people threw with great skill, we have heard a great deal during the more recent conflicts in the Soudan.

The Bedouins who were supporting the revolt in Darfûr were slave-traders, making raids on the negro tribes to the south, or exchanging cloth for slaves with other Bedouin tribes beyond even the pretended boundary of Egypt on the west. The slaves thus entered the Egyptian territory four or five at a time, though nothing would have prevented their going in a hundred at a time, as there was no range of sentinels on the borders of the country. Gordon considered that the large slave-caravans in which the wretched captives were driven in numbers through the desert manacled or bearing heavy wooden yokes had ceased, but that there was still an extensive trade carried on by small dealers which it would be impossible to put down.

The governor of Darfûr, Hassan Helmi Pasha, was supine and useless. He had a large force at his disposal, but failed to render any assistance to the stations of El Fascher, Dara, Kolkol, and Kakabieh, where the insurgents or followers of Haroun had hemmed in the Egyptian garrisons. A force which had been sent from Fogia to their aid had, for some reason or other, not succeeded in relieving them. It was to accomplish this relief that Gordon's first efforts had to be made. But that arch-villain and supreme slave-dealer, Zebehr, was still planning. He at the outbreak of the Russian war had been sent from Cairo, where he had

been made so comfortable by the khedive, to Stamboul. He had not ceased to plot; and now his son Suleiman was at the head of the slave-dealers to the south, and with a great horde at his command was holding a threatening attitude at Shakka, his head-quarters, and the very nest of the slave-trade in that part.

Gordon had declared that Darfûr was quite worthless as a possession, and as the revolt was caused by the cruelty and extortion of the Bashi-Bazouks, he determined to evacuate Toashia, Dara, and Kadjmour, and with their united garrisons move against Haroun. He thus proposed to get rid of the useless exposed stations, and by taking away the troops to save the people from pillage, the cause of revolts. His plan was to keep only the trunk road to Fascher.

Haroun had a vast number of men, but as the seed-time approached they were likely to desert, for they would not like to stay long away from their districts; and as each tribe would steal from the others who had been their allies, the coalition would be soon broken up. Gordon had 500 nondescript troops with him; there were 350 more at Toashia, and 1200 at Dara, which was to be vacated, so that he had about 2000, not counting the 1000 men at Kadjmour who were wanted to march from that place to Kolkol. But at Shakka were the hordes of Zebehr, led by his son, and there had assembled a host of murderers and robbers who made raids on the negro tribes for slaves. Gordon reckoned that they could put 10,000 men into the field. He wrote:—"Altogether it was well I came to the Soudan. Another year would have left little Soudan to come to, what with these gentlemen, Darfûr, and Abyssinia. I am overwhelmed with debts. Some of the men have had no pay for three years!"

When once Gordon had left Khartûm he sped from place to place with his accustomed alacrity, and it may be added without caring much whether he arrived without his escort. He went single-handed and unarmed amidst not only doubtful friends but avowed enemies. His utter fearlessness, which looked like audacity, but was simple indifference to danger or even to death, astonished the enemy so much that they often submitted at once. His sudden appearance

frequently dismayed the cowardly and procrastinating garrisons at the stations. In this way he approached Fogia, where the force had been sent two months previously to relieve the Darfûr garrison.

"I am quite alone, and like it. I am become what people call a great fatalist, viz. I trust God will pull me through every difficulty. The solitary grandeur of the desert makes one feel how vain is the effort of man. This carries me through my troubles and enables me to look on death as a coming relief when it is His will. The heat is sometimes terrible. I am now accustomed to the camel. It is a wonderful creature, with its silent, cushion-like tread. . . .

"I have a splendid camel—none like it; it flies along, and quite astonishes even the Arabs. I came flying into this station in marshal's uniform, and before the men had time to unpile their arms I had arrived, with only one man with me. I could not help it; the escort did not come in for an hour and a half afterwards. The Arab chief who came with me said it was the telegraph. The Gordons and the camels are of the same race—let them take an idea into their heads, and nothing will take it out. If my camel feels inclined to go in any particular direction, there he will go, pull as much as you like. The grand cordon was given to a man who guaranteed to give it to me as we approached the station; but, alas! it did not come for an hour afterwards. It is fearful to see the governor-general, arrayed in gold clothes, flying along like a madman, with only a guide, as if he was pursued. The mudir had not time to gather himself together before the enemy was on him. Some of the guards were down at a well drinking. It was no use; before they had got half-way to their arms the goal was won. Specks had been seen in the vast plain around the station moving towards it (like Jehu's advance), but the specks were few—only two or three—and were supposed to be the advance guard, and before the men of Fogia knew where they were the station was taken. The artillerymen were the only ones ready!"

It was a wretched "tag, rag, and bobtail" army that Gordon led to Toashia; they were nearly starved and had not been paid. He led to Dara "500 of all sorts, a very poor set," with flint-lock

muskets and all kinds of arms, a band of brigands in fact. He was in hourly danger of being attacked by thousands of the blacks, who were far superior to the Arabs. Dara had been six months without news from without. "It was like the relief of Lucknow." Everything was at famine prices. There were above 200 slaves, or poor creatures who seemed to be slaves, who were captured from the tribe attacked by the expedition. They were starving, and had been thirty-six hours without food. Intelligence came from Fascher that when Haroun was attacked there, hundreds of men, women, and children were dying or dead of smallpox and starvation. Gordon's Arabs let the wretched people captured at Dara go free. "They went off, 235 of them, arm in arm like a long string. They did this to prevent the vultures, the Gallabats, taking them as slaves, which they wanted to do." These Gallabats were regular slave-traders, and Gordon dared not do anything against them because of his position with respect to Shakka. He feared to raise them against him, as they appeared at the time to be well disposed.

Among the liberated slaves were "some poor little wretches, only stomachs and heads with antennæ for legs and arms." The enormous stomachs were caused by feeding on grass. A swarm of starved wretches afterwards invaded the court-yard of his quarters, and he was obliged to send them off till the next day, when he could procure some dhoora for them. His position was one of the most extreme difficulty, which was increased by the necessity for keeping up an armed force, and making use of the slaves for the purpose of recruiting it. Already he was being accused of inconsistency, and accusations were brought against him which could only be refuted by a complete understanding of the painful position in which he was placed.

"Of course," he wrote, "I must let time soften down the ill effects of what is written against me in the papers on account of my purchasing the slaves now in possession of individuals in order to obtain the troops necessary to put down slavery. I need troops. How am I to get them but thus? If I do not buy these slaves, unless I liberate them at once they will remain slaves, while

when they are soldiers they are free from that reproach. I cannot liberate them from their owners without compensation for fear of a general revolt. I cannot compensate the owners and then let the men go free, for they would only be in danger. Though the slaves may not like to be soldiers, still it is the fate of many in lands where there is the conscription, and, indeed, it is the only way in which I can break up the bands of armed men which are owned by private people—slave-dealers, and get these bands under discipline. When I have these bands, of which Sebehr's son and others are the chiefs, then the slave-dealers will have no power to make raids, while, at the same time, I get troops able to prevent any such like attempt. . . . I doubt not people will write and say: 1. Colonel Gordon buys slaves for the government. 2. Colonel Gordon lets the Gallabats take slaves. To No. 1 I say: 'True, for I need the purchased slaves to put down the slave-dealers and to break up their semi-independent bands.' To No. 2 I say: 'True, for I dare not stop it to any extent for fear of adding to my enemies before I have broken up the nest of slave-dealers at Shaka.' I should be mad if I did. We should not, if at war with Russia, choose that moment to bring about any change affecting the social life of the Hindoos. The slaves I buy are already torn from their homes; and whether I buy them or not, they will till twelve years have elapsed remain slaves. After twelve years they will be free according to the treaty. It is not as if I encouraged raids for the purpose of getting slaves as soldiers. But people will, of course, say: 'By buying slaves you increase the demand, and indirectly encourage raids.' I say: 'Yes, I should do so if after buying them I still allowed the raids to continue; which, of course, I shall not do.' . . . This slave question is most troublesome and difficult to manage. A number of the slaves who were taken in the last raid made near here on the sly by the Gallabats refuse to go back, for they find they are better fed with their new masters than they were with their old. . . . What am I to do with the 3000 or 4000 slaves, women and children, that are now at Shaka if we take it? I cannot take them back to their own country, I cannot feed them. . . . I

must let them be taken by my auxiliaries, or by my soldiers, or by the merchants. There is no help for it. If I let them loose they will be picked up in every direction, for an escaped slave is like an escaped sheep—the property of him who finds him or her. One must consider what is best for the individual himself, not what may seem best to the judgment of Europe. It is the slave who suffers, not Europe. There is not the slightest doubt but that if I let the slaves be taken by my soldiers, by the tribes, or by the Gallabat merchants, instead of there being a cessation of the slave caravans, there will be a great increase of them for two or three months, and a corresponding outcry against me. But, at any rate, the slaves will go by frequented routes, and will not die on the road. I could let the matter solve itself; *i.e.* let the slaves stay as they are, and let the owners run the cordon as they best can; but I should thus cause the slaves to undergo great suffering, and perhaps the death of one-half of them. Shall I be cowardly and do this for fear of what ill-informed Europe may say? . . . There are the slaves; around them the hungry vultures, and only one man to protect them, and that man has no means of feeding them or of sending them back to their friends. . . . Strange to say, these wretched slaves have their likes and dislikes. Some would sooner go with their Gallabat merchants, some with the tribes, and some with the soldiers. They are of different minds. Even if they could, they would not go back to their now desolate homes. If they did, they would be attacked by more powerful tribes, and be made slaves to them. Their own country is probably a desert, their people dispersed, and the land run over with weeds. It would be a long time ere they could get their crops again. . . . It makes one wink to think how the slaves of all these Bedouin tribes are to be freed in twelve years. Who is to free them? Will Great Britain? When the trees hear my voice and obey me, then will the tribes liberate their slaves! The only thing the government can do is to prevent their getting new ones."

Can anything point more emphatically to the obstacles that surrounded the question of slavery in the Soudan? This quotation in itself will show pretty clearly the bearings of the whole

question, and the improbability of any European power taking armed possession of a vast extent of worthless territory, arid and almost waterless desert, and inhabited by tribes warlike and constantly at war with each other, for the purpose of putting an end to a traffic which everybody around recognizes as an institution to be supported and defended. Gordon came to be almost heart-broken when he realized the position in which he found himself. When he was *en route* to Shakka he wrote (on the 10th September, 1877), "I have complaints on all sides of the pillage committed by the slave-dealers' people. I cannot help it. . . . I am running a great risk in going into the slavers' nest with only four companies, but I will trust to God to help me, and the best policy with these people is a bold one." It is not easy to realize the loneliness, the tremendous sense of responsibility, the mental and physical suffering which this man had to undergo; only his firm faith in the directing power of God, perhaps only his fatalism, as he knew people would and must call it, would have upheld him and carried him through.

The manner of his entering Dara was illustrative of his marvellous energy, his contempt for danger, his utter disregard of anything that might happen to himself when duty seemed to point to the course to be pursued. On his way thither he learned that an officer (lieutenant-colonel) who should have attacked the enemy at one of the stations had been bribed to remain inactive. The culprit went to meet Gordon, who would not see him; but had to deal with him afterwards. This fellow allowed his men to rob right and left, and all along the road the wretched people went running to Gordon for protection, for the irregular banditti troops would steal a boy or a girl with as little compunction as they would snatch a fowl.

The manner in which the governor-general reached Dara is suggestive enough:—

"I got to Dara alone, about 4 P.M., long before my escort, having ridden eighty-five miles in a day and a half. About seven miles from Dara I got into a swarm of flies, and they annoyed me and my camel so much that we jolted along as fast as we could.

Upwards of 300 were on my camel's head, and I was covered with them. I suppose that the queen fly was among them. If I had no escort of men I had a large escort of these flies. I came on my people like a thunderbolt. As soon as they had recovered, the salute was fired. My poor escort! Where is it? Imagine to yourself a single, dirty, red-faced man on a camel, ornamented with flies, arriving in the divan all of a sudden. The people were paralysed, and could not believe their eyes."

His success, however, was greater than he expected. That the bold policy was the most effectual was soon proved.

On Sept. 2, 1877, he wrote:—"No dinner after my long ride, but a quiet night, forgetting my miseries. At dawn I got up, and putting on the golden armour the khedive gave me, went out to see my troops, and then mounted my horse and with an escort of *my* robbers of Bashi-Bazouks rode out to the camp of the other robbers three miles off. I was met by the son of Sebehr—a nice-looking lad of twenty-two years—and rode through the robber bands. There were about 3000 of them—men and boys. I rode to the tent in the camp; the whole body of chiefs were dumb-founded at my coming among them. After a glass of water I went back, telling the son of Sebehr to come with his family to my divan. They all came, and sitting there in a circle I gave them in choice Arabic my ideas—that they meditated revolt, that I knew it, and that they should now have my ultimatum—viz. that I would disarm them and break them up. They listened in silence, and then went off to consider what I had said. They have just now sent in a letter stating their submission, and I thank God for it. They have pillaged the country all round, and I cannot help it."

But before gaining this advantage he had been delayed by an unexpected danger, for on his pushing out to Fascher to see how matters were going on there, he was confronted by a tribe known as the Leopards. He had for his allies the Masharins, which was a fortunate thing, as though he had 3500 troops they were such a cowardly set that they would scarcely fight even behind their entrenchments, and but for the brave Masharins, whose chief was

killed in the first encounter, would have been badly off. Gordon eventually suppressed the Leopards by strategy, contriving to cut them off from the wells so that they were unable to obtain water.

"The detachment of the Leopards are without water, and have been so for a day. I am sorry for it. Consider it as we may, war is a brutal, cruel affair. Do you notice how often, in the wars of the Israelites, the people were in want of water? Those wars were the same as our wars here (see 2 Kings iii. 9). I fear we are like them, for we take captives—in fact, the whole of the circumstances are just as they were in the time of the Kings of Israel, even the cloth wrapped round the men, and the immense spears. To a man who knew the Scriptures, and could write well, it would be a grand chance. The chiefs are now, as then, men of known personal courage, like the commander-in-chief of David. The small portion of the Leopard tribe which is near here has got my letter of pardon, and some of them are flying down to the water. Fancy what a comfort to them in this fearful sun! You see the people coming over the sand like flies on a wall. The poor fugitives cannot stand the thirst, and are coming down, one by one, to water. You have not the very least idea of the fearful effect of want of water in this scorched up country, yet this Leopard tribe would rise in rebellion though it had never been molested by the government. The effect of crushing it will be great; never before have they been so disastrously situated. Hunger is nothing to thirst; the one can be eased by eating grass, the other is swift and insupportable."

The "nice-looking lad," Zebehr's son Suleiman, whom Gordon afterwards calls "a cub" (seeming to have been amused at his cool insolence), turned out to be a cunning treacherous scoundrel, as might have been expected; but alarmed by the rapidity and authority of the governor-general he left about half of his followers and returned to Shakka. To this place Gordon followed him about the middle of September, 1877, and sent him to Bahr-el-Ghazal, while the other chiefs he dismissed to various places. The slave-trade was thus broken up for the time in this direction, and very large numbers of slaves had been liberated; but there

were above 4000 more slave-hunters to be dealt with in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, though Edrees, the chief of these, was apparently friendly to Gordon.

The anxiety of the governor-general was extreme. He did not fear death, but he feared, or rather he knew, that if he should die or be killed the whole country would again fall into anarchy, and the slave-hunters resume their detestable traffic. He was almost crushed beneath the weight of responsibility, surrounded as he was by those who only awaited an opportunity to undo all that he had done, and he could not count even on the moral support of the Egyptian government.

There were some 6000 more slave-dealers in the interior who were ready to obey when they heard that the son of Zebehr and the other chiefs had submitted, but there was then the difficulty of dealing with such a number of armed men. Gordon wrote:—"I have separated them here and there, and in course of time will rid myself of the mass. Would you shoot them all? Have they no rights? Are they not to be considered? Had the planters no rights? Did not our government once allow slave-trading? Do you know that cargoes of slaves came into Bristol harbour in the time of our fathers? . . . If it suits me I will buy slaves, I will let captured slaves go down to Egypt and not molest them, and I will do what I like, and what God in his mercy may direct me to do about domestic slaves; but I will break the neck of slave raids even if it cost me my life. . . . Certain Greeks are now at Katarif, on whom I have my eye, who have gangs of slaves cultivating cotton. I mean to make a swoop on them. In fact, the condition of the negro is incomparably better in these lands than ever it was in the West Indies, and I therefore claim for my people a greater kindness of heart than was possessed by the planters, with all their Christian profession and civilization. . . . Act up to your religion and then you will enjoy it. The Christianity of the mass is a vapid tasteless thing, and of no use to anyone. The people of England care more for their dinners than they do for anything else, and you may depend upon it, it is only an active few whom God pushes on to take an interest in the

[slave] question. 'It is very shocking! Will you take some more salmon?'"

A journey of six hours to Shakka through the forest, where "you are nearly torn to ribbons by the thorny trees," brought Gordon to the midst of the insubordinate slavers. Suleiman and the rest of the notables were all submission, and begged for various appointments. None of them were to be trusted. If Suleiman were sent to Cairo it would be to make a great man of him, and at the same time he would be regarded as a martyr by everybody at Shakka. Gordon took the upper hand and caused the band to play Salaam Effendina—Vive le Khediva!—for a vast territory was brought under the Egyptian government by the suppression of the turbulent rulers. Suleiman was sent to the Bahr Gazelle, and the other chiefs to different places where posts could be found for them. The population of the Nile had emigrated to the Bahr Gazelle regions to seek safety under the new regime, and to escape from the government exactions.

Gordon made these arrangements rapidly, for he was anxious to return to Khartûm by way of Obeid. Shakka was a great unhealthy town full of slaves, and two large Arab tribes were already squabbling who should be their head chief, refusing to obey the sheikhs who were their hereditary rulers. Gordon did not see how he could dethrone these sheikhs, and therefore gave the Arabs an audience and said he would force no one, but that "those who wished for A could go with A, and those who wished for B could go with B." Zebehr's son was still importunate, and wanted to be made chief of the seribas—a cool request, as to have granted it would have been to put everything into his hands.

When Gordon left Shakka with the mass of slaves that remained there, he was afraid that it would be long before the work of dispersing them could be accomplished. On his journey he became aware that he was conveying to Obeid a caravan of slaves, and could not help it. "One man says that seven women who are with him are his wives! I cannot disprove it. There are numbers of children—the men say that they are all their

offspring! When you have got the ink which has soaked into blotting paper out of it, then slavery will cease in these lands." On the following day he came upon a caravan of slaves which accompanied him—some sixty or eighty men, women, and children chained. What was he to do? If he released them, who was to care for them or feed them? Their homes were too far off to send them to, so he decided to leave them with the slave merchant, after compelling him to take off their chains. He, looking on them as though they were as valuable as cows, would look well after them. "Don Quixote would have liberated them and made an attempt to send them back some forty days' march through hostile tribes to their homes, which they would never have reached. The slave merchant had done no harm in buying them, for it is permissible in Egypt, and he had not taken them from their homes, which they would never have reached. . . . There is no doubt I could stop all the slave gangs in one way, viz. by telling the tribes to capture and keep all the gangs that pass. They would soon do it, but then they would use no discrimination, and would plunder every one; besides which I think the slaves would prefer servitude with the Arabs of the towns to servitude with the Bedouins."

On his way he came across more slaves—one gang was kept under some trees waiting till he and his followers had passed; but he detected them and found that they were perishing for want of water. One of the gangs that he met consisted of slaves from Dara, who had been captured and sold to the pedlars by his own officers and men. It was enough to make the most resolute heart despair of doing any permanent good. No person under fifteen years of age was safe in Darfûr or Kordofan. The people were bent on slave-traffic, and looked on the capture of a slave in the same way as people would look on appropriating an article found on the road. He could not then make up his mind what to do, except that he was determined to stop at once the slave markets at Katarif, Gallabat, and Shakka, and to prevent the slave raids on the black tribes near the Bahr Gazelle. Gallabat was a place under the control of a semi-independent chief of the fierce

and warlike Tokrooris, who were immigrants from Darfûr, and to deal with them he would have to concentrate troops and prepare for war; for the chief might cause a revolt and claim the protection of Abyssinia, from which Gallabat had been stolen by the Egyptians. In that case there would be both Johannis and Walad el Michael to settle with. Then at Zeila there was another semi-independent chief named Aboubec'r, who had so much power with the tribes that he could not be interfered with except with the aid of a strong body of troops. It was a maddening complication, and amidst it all there were the horrors which were witnessed daily on the journey back to Khartûm. One of the Shakka men who was riding with Gordon told him that hundreds and hundreds of slaves died on the road, and that when they were too weak to go the pedlars shot them. In all previous emancipations there had been a strong government to enforce obedience, or a majority of the nation wished it; but in that country there was not one who wished it or who would aid it even by advice. There were many who would willingly see the sufferings of the slave gangs cease, and also the raids on the negro tribes; but there they would stop. The tenure of slaves was the A B C of life there to rich and poor, *no one* was uninterested in the matter.

Gordon reached Khartûm in the middle of October, and found that his energetic measures had caused him to be feared and respected, but not much liked. All the officials were on the alert directly they heard of his approach. Some of the dilatory pashas he had pursued, and quickened their movements towards the stations. He was received with a certain show of enthusiasm; but everybody wanted money, and he had none to give them. He set to work to put affairs in order, for he had only a few days to spare, and then set off again down the Nile to Berber, intending to go from there to Dongola, Wadi Halfa, Assouan; thence across to Berenice on the Red Sea, and then up to Massowa, and from Massowa to Bogos. Thence he proposed to go to meet King Johannis, to return to Massowa and go to Berbera, and perhaps to Harrar. While he was at Dongola, however, inquiring into a plan for a railway, he received a telegram from Khartûm to say

that there was a report of an Abyssinian invasion, and that Sennâr was threatened. He immediately started to return to Khartûm by crossing the Bayouda desert in a "bee-line;" and hearing that the report was false, but that Walad el Michael was again in arms at the frontier, he set off to the Bogos country. He found Walad encamped on a plateau on an immense mountain, to reach which two other mountains had to be crossed with great difficulty. The camp was six hours' journey from Sanheit, and when Gordon arrived Walad and his people were quartered in several huts close together, and surrounded with a ten-foot fence. His people looked afraid, and were very uneasy. It seemed as though they were to be made prisoners. About 7000 men were drawn up in military array to receive the visitor, and the son of Walad, with a troop of priests bearing sacred pictures, met him on the road. Walad himself was shamming sick, and Gordon, who found him lying on a couch with (he said) a bad knee, gave him a few hints, that any attempt to keep the governor-general's people prisoners within the fenced enclosure would be resented by the khedive. This was answered by profuse assurances that no harm was intended; and Gordon, who was accustomed to go where he pleased regardless of personal danger, made use of the time that he was kept waiting for an audience with the chief, by inspecting the army of brigands, some of whom looked pleased with the attention, while others scowled at him. It was a bold stroke for the governor-general in his gold uniform to assume the authority which his position entitled him to, for he had only his servants and ten soldiers in his retinue; but he had a sort of instinct for facing such difficulties. When he was admitted to a conference with Walad he advised him to ask pardon of Johannis, but this the chief utterly refused, and demanded more districts over which he might exercise the right to plunder. At last a compromise was made by Walad consenting to be quiet for a subsidy of £1000 a month, and Gordon departed for Khartûm by way of Suakim and Berber.

He had been a year in office, and had achieved marvellous reforms, only effected by labour from the very thoughts of which

most men would have shrunk appalled. His journeys on camels, 3840 miles in all, had produced physical suffering, which he thus describes:—

"From not having worn a bandage across the chest, I have shaken my heart or my lungs out of their places, and I have the same feeling in my chest as you have when you have a crick in the neck. In camel-riding you ought to wear a sash round the waist and another close up under the arm-pits; otherwise all the internal machinery gets disturbed. I say sincerely, that though I prefer to be here sooner than anywhere else, I would sooner be dead than lead this life. I have told my clerk, to his horror, to bury me when I die, and to make the Arabs each throw a stone on my grave, so that I may have a good monument. It is strange, fatalists as they are in theory, how they dislike any conversation like this; they consider it ill-omened, though they agree that it is written when we are to die."

No sooner had Gordon reached Shendy on his return journey to Khartûm, by way of Suakim and Berber, than he received a long telegram from the khedive asking him if it would be possible for him to leave the Soudan and go down to Cairo to arrange his (the khedive's) financial affairs. The message reached him on the 25th of January (1878), and on the 7th of February he started for Cairo. The journey to Dongola was long and the weather was bitterly cold, a piercing north wind blowing the dust before it into the eyes of the travellers. The same disagreeable conditions lasted all the way to Wady Halfa.

He was exceedingly averse to going to Cairo, and appears to have expected that he would not succeed in proposing any acceptable scheme for disentangling the intricacies of the financial question, and he felt personally disinclined to participate in the formal ceremonies of the court. "I have now," he wrote, "been one year governor-general, and I have lived a very rough sort of life, so much so that I have lost all my civilized tastes, and have an aversion to my meals that I can scarcely express. The idea of dinners at Cairo makes me quail. I do not exaggerate when I say ten minutes per diem is sufficient for all my meals, and there

is no greater happiness to me than when they are finished; and this though I am quite well."

The dreaded invitation to dinner awaited him in a telegram asking him to go to the palace on his arrival at 8 P.M. on the 7th of March. He did not arrive at the station till 9 o'clock, dusty and dirty, but he was at once "whisked off to the palace," where his highness was waiting dinner for him. Before dinner, however, late as it was, the khedive took him aside and asked him to be president of the inquiry into the state of the finances of the country. Ismail was exceedingly kind, and placed him at his right hand dirty and covered with dust as he was. "After some little conversation I was taken off to the palace that General Grant, U. S., had lately vacated, where the Prince of Wales lodged when here! . . . My people are all dazed! and so am I, and wish for my camel. . . . Fancy a palace full of lights, mirrors, gentlemen to wait on you, and the building itself one of the finest in Cairo." A week afterwards, however, he wrote: "I am much bothered, but I get to bed at 8 P.M., which is a comfort; for I do not dine out, and consequently do not drink wine. Everyone laughs at me, and I do not care. . . . I am almost desperate in my position in the Soudan. My crop of troubles is never to be got under; slave questions, finance, government—all seems at sixes and sevens; there is no peace or rest. . . . H. H. appoints men to my government with pay, &c., and then if they do not fit into their places he says to me, 'Settle with them.' I was not quiet in my lands, but even H. H. sends me firebrands, as if there was not enough inflammatory matter." A week later still and there was an end of it. "H. H. threw me over completely at the last moment; but far from being angry I was very glad, for it relieved me of a deal of trouble, and he said I might go at the end of next week. I laugh at all this farce. . . . I left Cairo with no honours; by the ordinary train, paying my passage. The sun which rose in such splendour set in the deepest obscurity. I calculate this financial episode of mine cost me £800. H. H. was bored with me after my failure, and could not bear the sight of me, which those around him soon knew. I daresay I may have been imprudent in

speech. I have no doubt it is better as it is. I have no doubt H. H. and I would have fallen out about the composition of the court of inquiry, for I feel sure that it was meant to be packed, and that I was only to be figurehead."

On the 30th of March he left Cairo for Suez, thence to Aden, from which he crossed over to Berbera on the African coast, and thence went to Zeila, a place which the khedive had obtained from Turkey for £15,000 a year extra tribute, and before he had contrived to annex Harrar. At Harrar, which is distant eight days' journey, Raouf Pasha was governor, the same man who had been at the Equator with Baker and afterwards with Gordon, and whom Gordon had deposed from his command four years before. He had not altered. He was a regular tyrant and a monopolist. Gordon confiscated about £2000 worth of coffee which he had sent to be sold to his private account at Aden, that he might buy other merchandise and retail it at exorbitant prices to the soldiers at Harrar. "It is the only way to punish him," wrote the governor-general, "for H. H., doing much the same thing, will never do so."

The former sultan or ameer of Harrar had oppressed his people, favoured the Galla tribes, and bullied the Mussulmans; and this led to the inhabitants sending to the khedive asking him to take possession of the province. Acting in his usual manner he sent as his representative Raouf Pasha, the man who had been turned out by Gordon for misgovernment of another province. Raouf made short work of the ameer by having him quietly strangled, a proceeding to which the son of the man objected so strongly, that he went to Cairo and complained to the khedive, who appeared to be exceedingly angry, but as usual did nothing. Raouf then turned upon the Gallas, made one of their great chiefs a prisoner and put him in irons, but released him when he heard of the approach of Gordon, who had sent forward the order that the governor should at once give up his command.

Raouf offered no resistance nor much remonstrance, but left the place two days after Gordon's arrival. He appeared to be rather downcast at being turned out, but probably he reflected that

he would be kindly received if not rewarded and pensioned at Cairo, which was after all a much more agreeable place than a town in the midst of a desert, where it became a problem with the people how they were to exist.

The effect of Gordon's experiences at Cairo was to make him a more determined reformer. The strip of country between the frontier of Abyssinia and the sea was inhabited by fanatical Mussulmans, and from the ports all along the coasts the slaves passed to Hodeidah on the Arabian coast. It was part of his task to stop this traffic, but the very vastness of the territory over which he was supposed to have control made it almost hopeless ever to do so effectually, and since his visit to Cairo his feelings had very greatly altered with regard to his plan of action. There was no hope of any change for the better in the government even if there should be another khedive. This made him careless of praise or blame from Ismail. All he cared for was to endeavour to benefit the people. He felt that he and the khedive were likely to squabble on the old question of making bricks without straw. Every possible expense was put upon the Soudan, and he was determined to keep down unnecessary outlay. There had been spent at Berbera £70,000 on a lighthouse (which was useless), on water supply, a mosque, a wharf, and other works, and it cost £40,000 to keep steamers and troops there, while the total revenue was about £170 a year; and the British government insisted on Berbera being a free port, and forbade a tax being levied on the 10,000 cows and the 60,000 sheep which were exported to Aden.

At anyrate Gordon went to work again in earnest, and began quickly to get rid of useless or inimical officers. Three generals of division, one general of brigade, and four lieutenant-colonels were turned out on his journey to Khartûm, and when he reached that place he took up his residence there and began assiduously to devote himself to the reformation of abuses, the settlement of the finances of the country, and the organization of its affairs. The state of the finances was rather dismaying. The budget for the current year showed a deficiency of £72,000. In October, 1878, the Soudan accounts had just been made out, and showed

that the debt was £327,000, the revenue £579,000, the expenses £651,000, the deficit therefore £72,000; but he had already effected a great improvement. In 1877 they spent £259,000 more than they had, but he had so cut down the outgoings that in 1878 they only exceeded the revenue by £50,600. This reduction had necessitated his looking after every detail. There was no one at Cairo to help him, on the contrary there were constant signs of trouble there; and Mr. Goschen, who was then making his inquiries with a view to proposing a financial scheme, was told that the Soudan gave a tribute of £143,000 a year, while it must have been known that the Soudan had always cost money, and never gave any until Gordon was made governor, and so managed that nothing was given on either side. One of the great difficulties was that the khedive, having made contracts for railway material and works which were not entirely carried out, and the terms for which were extravagant (as a forfeit had to be paid in the shape of an enormous interest on unused material), endeavoured to place the burden of responsibility on Gordon, by handing over to him the contract that he might see what could be done with it. A worse attempt still was made by his highness, who, finding among his private property a couple of steamers that he did not require, tried to have them added to the provisions for the Soudan at a cost of £20,000 a year. Gordon would not yield to either of these attempts. He demanded that the khedive's government, who made the railway contract, should get out of the difficulty, and he refused the steamers. Things looked as if they were coming to a crisis in every direction; after working hard at the accounts Gordon found that, while Cairo was demanding £30,000 as money due from the Soudan, it was the Cairo government that owed the Soudan £9000.

Life at Khartûm was dreary enough. In the intervals of his arduous work Gordon found it dull and dispiriting. He had scarcely any books, and no associates. He very seldom saw anyone except on business, and even in that he was obliged to decide on everything. In a climate that scarcely any European could endure, and in which half the Arabs were on the sick list (or said that they were ill), with a heavy debt, and yet hard put to it for

the want of fifty or a hundred pounds, he had no counsellor on whom he could rely. All fell on him.—"They are perfect sheep," he wrote. "If you ever, in a moment of *weakness*, ask them anything, they give a sickly smile, and say, 'You know best.' Just as H. H. and Nubar telegraph to me."

He occupied his evenings for a short time by making a large map of the Soudan, and then he sought amusement in taking the clocks to pieces and putting them together again. The dulness was almost insupportable. Doubtless he sometimes wished that he had been free to lead the attacks against the slave-dealers, which he was for the time only able to direct from Khartûm.

The subject of the Soudanese railway, already referred to, had occupied his earnest attention. It had been in course of construction when he entered on his governorship, but had turned out a failure, and he was not permitted to carry it forward in the way that he believed would make it permanently useful.

Ismail had come to the conclusion that if he continued to hold the Soudan he must improve the communications between it and Egypt proper; but his notion was to bring the Soudan trade down the Nile through Egypt, and he therefore abandoned the natural trade outlet by the route to the Red Sea from Berber to Suakim, a distance of 280 miles across the desert, and decided on constructing a railway through the desert, along the Nile, past the cataracts from Wady Halfa to Hanneck, a distance of 180 miles. With the usual recklessness of consequences contracts were entered into; but in 1877, after about £450,000 had been spent on the line, the financial muddle stopped the works, and the line came to an abrupt conclusion "in the air" about fifty miles from Wady Halfa, and with 130 miles remaining to be crossed before the barrier of desert would be passed. Careful personal examination by Colonel Mason, Mr. Gooding, and Colonel Gordon himself had shown that the river for this 130 miles was not continuously encumbered by rocks. Between the rocky ridges there were long spaces of open water, and steamers built in England had in times of full flood been hauled up every one of the ridges to Khartûm and had plied to Gondokoro. Gordon's plan was to bring up small steamers

during high Nile, to place one on each of the open strips of water that were of reasonable extent, and thus work them from ridge to ridge in the open spaces; at the same time, to save expense, having only one crew, which would shift from steamer to steamer. The distance between the debarking or landing place of one open water-way and the embarking wharf of the next open water-way was to be traversed by tramways, and thus the 130 miles from the place where the railway terminated to Hanneck would be got over. The entire cost of thus carrying out the work was computed at £70,000, as against a million and a half which would have been required for the completion of the railway; but the revolts of the slave-drivers and native rulers in the Soudan, and the various troubles that attended the administration of the province, prevented the adoption of the scheme, and so there the unfinished railway remained with its valuable stores perishing, while Egypt proper had no more actual hold over the Soudan than was possessed by Ancient Egypt.

But if Gordon was sick and solitary, he was never idle. He never really had a quiet day, and had the misery of fearing that in spite of all he did no true progress was made. Dishonest officials, interfering consuls, and a deaf and indifferent government who would give him no assistance, but while encouraging his enemies, would leave his communications unanswered, were quickly bringing him to the conclusion that he must relinquish office directly his term expired. First, however, he would use every effort that he could make, to strike a death-blow to the slave-trade. By the end of July, 1878, his people had seized twelve caravans of slaves in two months, and though he was cooped up in Khartûm, and occupied with the finances, he began to take prompt and severe measures against the cruel scoundrels who not only held but ill-treated slaves, and especially slave women and children. A caravan of 400 slaves, with about 180 guards, met one of Gordon's mudirs or sub-governors of Darfûr and refused to obey him. They got away, but about ninety of the slaves were captured by a steamer coming from Berber. They presented a terrible spectacle. There were few over sixteen years of age, and many

of them had babies. Some were tiny boys and girls. They had come over 500 miles of desert, and were a residue of four times their number. Well might Gordon say it was much for him to do to keep himself from cruel illegal acts towards the slave-dealers, though he remembered that God suffered it, and that one must keep within the law.

At the end of 1878 Gordon heard that the khedive was going to take from him the command of Harrar and Zeila, and he was glad of it, for they were a constant source of trouble and expense, and he had his hands full in addition to endeavouring to pacify Johannis and Walad el Michael in Abyssinia, where the former persisted in ignoring the khedive and treating only with Gordon, whom he called the Sultan of the Soudan. The only authority, as regarded Abyssinia, that Gordon had been able to obtain from Ismail was the following, not in Arabic but *in French*, and it was written at the end of his nomination as governor-general:—"The Abyssinian frontier joins the Soudan. Some disputes about the frontier exist. I authorize you, if you think fit, to settle these questions with the Abyssinian authorities." These were the powers with which he had to negotiate with Johannis, who demanded not only an arrangement of the frontier, but that a Christian abuna or archbishop should be sent to him from the Coptic church at Alexandria, as only such an archbishop could ordain priests, and what was perhaps of equal importance, could excommunicate those who disobeyed the king, a terrible punishment among the barbarous fanatics of that country.

The revolt in the Bahr Gazelle, which had been stirred up by Zebehr, who, when he went as a prisoner to Cairo, took with him £100,000 for the purpose of bribing the other pashas, had become dangerous. Zebehr's son, with a gang of slave-dealing chiefs, commanded a very large force, and were pillaging the country and subverting all regular government.

Gordon had caused several of the members of Zebehr's family to be arrested, and had confiscated such of their property as could be discovered, and he had sent an expedition under his brave and able lieutenant Gessi against the rebels. Gessi wrote to him

on the 1st of January, 1879, saying that Suleiman had been repulsed.

At Khartûm Gordon was perplexed what to do with 1300 of the slave soldiers who had remained faithful to the government. These men were a second-class force, and included the larger part of the full-grown natives in the seribas or camps. They were called "Farookh," "Narakeek," or "Bazingir," and their duty had been to accompany the natives in their expeditions whether for war or for trade. These black soldiers constituted nearly half the fighting force in all the seribas, and took a prominent part in time of war.[1] Though they had been loyal to his authority the governor-general did not know how to employ them. He could not put them into the regular army, for they would never stand the discipline; so he temporarily gave them a zone of country on the frontier of Wadai and Darfûr, and sent two Europeans with their chief (who was one of the best and bravest of Zebehr's men) that they might keep their eyes upon the natives to prevent slave-raiding; for all the chiefs had been brought up to be brigands and could not be expected to change.

Zebehr's system had been to kidnap boys and train them to be soldiers, so that by the time they grew to be young men of five-and-twenty years old they were formidable foes; one of their accomplishments being shooting with the aid of a tripod which they carried with them. They were, in fact, armed and trained brigands, and often ruled their nominal chiefs. It was another phase of the system of Memlooks and Janizaries. The destruction of Zebehr's gang was the turning-point of the slave-trade question, and yet Gordon could get not a word of support, much less material assistance, from Cairo. It was at this juncture that in answer to his reports on the subject of these slave brigands, Nubar had offered to send him Zebehr, the very man who had devastated the country and was responsible for the slave-trade, and who ought then to have been in prison instead of being a great personage at Cairo. Could there have been a more bitter farce than this?

But Gordon had pretty well determined what to do. "I shall

[1] Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa.*

give Gessi £1000 if he succeeds in catching Zebehr's son," he wrote:—"I hope he will hang him, for if he is sent to Cairo he will be made much of."

In February, 1879, Gordon received orders to go to Cairo to appear before the council of ministers. This was the third summons, but he replied, that he could not present himself till July, and sent a telegram to the English consul asking him not to interfere, but, if possible, to see that his successor was a European, as, if he was forced to go to Cairo, he meant to resign. He knew that the false position in which the government of the khedive persisted in placing the financial affairs of the Soudan would bring him into direct antagonism with the finance minister; and it was also necessary for him to remain until the taxes of the previous year had been collected and the serious revolt in the Bahr Gazelle suppressed, a revolt which Gessi could not deal promptly with, for want of troops, and which Gordon, having no funds and no spare troops, was obliged to "starve down" by cutting the rebels off from supplies.

At last Gordon, becoming uneasy about Gessi, telegraphed to the khedive for permission to go to Shakka and look after him. On the 10th of March he received leave to go, and set out to Kordofan. He had determined if possible to deal a death-blow to the slave-trade, but the work before him was tremendous. There was the rebellion of the slave-dealers in the Bahr Gązelle, as well as insurrections in Darfûr and Kordofan. In Darfûr Haroun, who two years before had fled to the hills, was in the field again claiming his right to the throne. In Kordofan Sabahi, once a chief of Zebehr's gang, was at the head of the rebels, and had taken to pillaging and slave-dealing on his own account. In September, 1878, he had murdered a governor whom Gordon had sent to Edowa. Gordon's comments on the situation are brief.—"Ever since that time (Sept. 1878) I have been ordering and ordering him to be crushed; but no, not a bit of it. He is in the mountains and the 400 troops or more are in the plain, where they have been for three months doing nothing, I expect, but collecting slaves. Hassan Pasha Helmi has been at Obeid a month, but has made

no move to go against him, though as far as his words went he was going to eat him." Gessi had also an arduous task before him; but he was a man of iron energy, courage, and decision. He is thus well described in a few words: "Romulus Gessi, Italian subject: aged forty-nine—short, compact figure; cool, most determined man. Born genius for practical ingenuity in mechanics. Ought to have been born in 1560, not 1832. Same disposition as Francis Drake. Had been engaged in many petty political affairs. Was interpreter to Her Majesty's forces in the Crimea, and attached to the head-quarters of the Royal Artillery."

On his way up the Nile the valiant Gessi soon found how hopeless was the expectation of any aid from the Egyptian governors in the endeavour to suppress slave-dealing. Nuggars or river boats laden with slaves were coming down, and even the government steamers had their living cargoes. One of them had 292 slaves on board, and among these unhappy wretches were some porters, free men who had come to Lardo bringing ivory and corn. The governor, Ibrahim Fansi, had seized them, and sent them down the river to be sold into slavery. Happily for them they had been met by one who delivered them. Gessi first went southwards towards the lakes to get reinforcements from the different stations. Returning, he landed his troops at Rabat-chambē. His line of march lay to the west, and the land was flooded. For three hours one day the water was up to the necks of his men. He could find few porters, and the state of the country was such that he could not make a start till the 26th of August, 1878. After a march of five days he arrived at a place where he heard that Suleiman the son of Zebehr had broken into open revolt, and had proclaimed himself Lord of the Bahr Gazelle. He had surprised an Egyptian garrison in Dehm (the town of) Idris, had massacred the troops, and seized the government ammunition. Those of the neighbouring chiefs who did not submit to his rule he had attacked and put to the sword. The women and children he had caused to be murdered, or had carried them away to slavery; everywhere he had robbed the people of their stores of grain. In some places there was nothing left for them to eat but the leaves

of trees, and they were dying of hunger. For some months Gessi was cut off from Khartûm, and, therefore, from communication with Gordon, by the sudd or grassy barriers which had again formed in the Nile, had prevented the passage of the boats, and doubtless had helped to flood the country. He sorely needed reinforcements, for he had but 300 regulars, two guns, and 700 very inferior irregulars very badly armed; but Gordon had no men to send even if the barrier of the Nile had not existed. Meantime the treacherous Arabs of the Bahr Gazelle, who had appeared friendly, but were really waiting to see which side was likely to be the strongest, were joining the enemy Suleiman, whose followers numbered 6000 men, while, even when Gessi had received some of the reinforcements which he had sought in the country, he could only count upon 1300 men, and with these he began to fortify his position at Rumbek. His difficulties were increased by the treachery of some of the Egyptian officers. In one district the commander of the troops was carrying off, not only the cattle of the natives but their young girls; and this scoundrel flatly refused to obey Gessi's orders to present himself at Rumbek or to send his troops thither.

Gessi did not regard khedival prohibitions and the evasions of the Cairo government. He went to work in grim earnest, and in fact nothing but dauntless determination would have enabled him to achieve the purpose which he steadily pursued. He waited no longer for a reply from Khartûm, but prepared to advance. Numbers of his men, losing heart because of delays, deserted him, but he put an end to this by prompt and energetic punishments. One of the ringleaders he shot in the presence of all the troops, and seven others he flogged. All the reinforcements had not come in, but on the 17th of November he set out on the onward march, for the fields of grain were ripening in the higher lands, and he heard that the enemy had given orders to fire both the standing crops and the long grass along the route that he would have to follow. He and his followers could travel but slowly, because of the luxuriant vegetation and the necessity for avoiding the portions of the country that were flooded, beside which he had to take

with him a vast number of women, children, and slaves till he reached a place where he could leave them, while he pushed on with only the men who could fight. The country was a solitude. The remnant of the people, who had escaped the raids of Suleiman and his gang, had fled and left their villages and their crops. At three rivers which he had to cross all the boats had been destroyed, and he had to carry his army over on rafts made of reeds. In the fourth river (the Wau), crocodiles swarmed. It would have been dangerous to attempt such a passage, and a large hostile band of men was on the other side and commenced firing. Gessi ordered his men to lie down, and fired a shell into the midst of his assailants, many of whom fell. Their village was soon in flames and they fled. The next morning all was silent, and the troops crossed the river in three fishing-boats lent them by a friendly chief. They occupied a village on the other side, where Gessi made a stockade in which he could leave the women and children and the wounded. The natives came in great numbers to welcome him. Nearly ten thousand men, women, and children had been swept away from the villages of the Bahr Gazelle and dragged into slavery by the son of Zebehr. Gessi decided to take one man from each village who would be able to recognize and claim his own people. Now that they had help, the villagers were rising on all sides, and seizing on the slave-dealers who were settled in the country; those who refused to yield they killed.

Considerable reinforcements now came in, and the onward march was resumed. Soon after starting the head man of a tribe met them crying out that a band of Arabs had just carried off the people of one of his villages. A strong body of Gessi's troops gave chase to the marauders, took twelve of them prisoners, and brought them back with 160 men, women, and children whom they had stolen. The little army then marched to Dehm Idris, where Suleiman had slaughtered the Egyptian garrison. He had left one of his captains in possession there. Gessi reached the place in the middle of December, 1878, and captured it at once. Then the struggle began. Suleiman, supposing that the floods, the rivers, and the condition of the country would prevent any force from

arriving from the south, was preparing to march north-eastward against Shakka, but hearing that Gessi was actually at Dehm Idris, turned aside to attack him, making sure of a victory, as he had under his command a host of more than 10,000 men.

On the afternoon of December 27th, Gessi heard of the approach of the enemy, and all that night his men worked at strengthening their camp with a barricade of timber and earth. It was well they had done so, for the next morning their position was attacked on all sides. Four times the enemy attempted to storm the intrenchments, but the resistance was so fierce and stubborn that each time they were driven back with great loss. The fighting had been so severe that Suleiman waited till the 12th of January, 1879, when, having been reinforced, he again made a furious assault on the camp. Deserters declared to Gessi that the chief slave-dealer and his captains had met in solemn conclave and sworn on the Koran either to conquer or die. Gessi was not the man to be frightened, small as his force was and badly as he needed a supply of ammunition. His men, too, were ready to fight to the death, for they knew what they had to expect if they were vanquished. He posted his troops among the long grass and brushwood outside the camp, and the enemy on approaching were met with a volley which drove them back. Later in the day the slave-dealers made another onset; but it was evident that their black soldiers had little heart left for fighting, and were driven on by the Arabs, who were in the rear, with drawn swords pricking them on and slaying those who faltered. This assault was no more successful than the first, but Gessi was so short of ammunition that his men picked up and recast the bullets that had fallen in the camp. There was little time for rest. Early the next morning the foe came on again, and, after seven hours' stubborn fighting, were again compelled to retreat, to the bitter chagrin of the son of Zebehr, who a few days afterward, hearing that there was a want of ammunition in the camp, ordered another general assault. But on the previous night a small supply of powder and shot had been brought in, and when in the morning a bomb-shell from the slave-dealers set fire to a hut, and the flames spread over the whole

camp, amidst which the host rushed down expecting a victory, they found that Gessi had drawn up his forces in the open ground between the camp and the forest, where he gained so signal a victory that the flying host were chased to their fortifications.

Gessi's tactics were brilliant and his courage and tenacity indomitable. On the 11th of March he received three barrels of powder and two ingots of lead, and felt that he could then attack Suleiman's stronghold, which was on the high ground, and consisted of wooden huts and barricades made of trunks of trees. Having set fire to the huts with congreve rockets, the flames afterwards spread to the barricades in spite of the efforts of the rebels to check them by throwing earth upon the burning timber. The brigands were compelled to sally forth and try to overwhelm their opponents. Numbers of them were driven back with heavy losses, and at last they turned and fled, leaving eleven of their leaders dead on the field. The want of ammunition prevented Gessi from ordering a pursuit. Night had fallen, and his men were faint from want of food. Hunger and privation among the troops, and fever and smallpox in the camp at Dehm Idris, whither numbers of the soldiers' wives and children had followed the march against orders, and others had joined them till there were 12,000 extra mouths to feed, added to the difficulties of the commander, who could get no supplies from the governor of Shakka to whom he had written urgent letters.

But Gessi did not relax his efforts against the bands of slave-hunters. By the beginning of February, 1879, he had returned more than 10,000 people to their homes. Eight slave-dealers, who were taken with twenty-eight children whom they had chained together, were shot in the sight of all the troops. A few days later another gang were hanged. The people of the villages went wild with surprise and delight. The head men came in to throw themselves at his feet and thank him. At last a good supply of ammunition arrived, and he prepared to march against the son of Zebehr at Dehm Suleiman, the place which had been named after the villain himself. Gessi started on the 1st of May, 1879, and four days later he and his followers had come upon the enemy in

a woody ravine about four miles from the stronghold, and had first routed them, and then by a rapid advance cut them off from the place where Suleiman himself was sitting at the gate waiting for their return. The troops rushed to the assault, and as they went in at one gate the chief and two companions mounted their horses and galloped out by the other, having only waited to superintend the massacre of four wretched prisoners. Gessi pursued them for an hour, when, finding himself with only one follower, he returned to the camp, which the hungry and half-naked troops were plundering to supply their needs. Much of the treasure, which was recovered by Gessi from the soldiers and intended to be reserved for the state, was afterwards stolen by a man holding a high position in the Egyptian government.

The forces of the slave-trading chiefs were scattered and gathered into large bands, some escaping one way and some another. With 600 men Gessi started on the trail of the treacherous Suleiman. On their way they came upon the evidences of flight and destruction; hastily made graves, the bodies of murdered slave-children who could not keep up with the rebels and so were ruthlessly slain, burnt crops, devastated and deserted villages, from a hut in one of which a white woman, half-clad and holding a baby to her breast, ran out to greet her deliverers, tears of joy streaming down her face. She was the wife of an artillery officer, who had been massacred by the slave-dealers when they attacked the garrison at Dehm Idris, and she had been carried off. These were the spectacles that awaited Gessi's weary and starving troops as they set their teeth with fresh resolution to hunt down the wretches who were responsible for such misery.

At the village where they found this woman there was enough grain to give them a meal; and they pushed on till they reached a dense forest, where they bivouacked for the night. But their scouts brought news of a camp seen at some distance; and, though this was known to be a caravan of slaves, and the rebel camp was further on, Gessi started at once. The slave-drivers fled from a column of Gessi's force which approached them, but many were

killed, and some of them were made prisoners and fettered with the chains taken from their helpless victims. They were the gang of one of the principal slave-traders in the Bahr Gazelle. The noise of the rifle shots had alarmed the rebels, who fired the village where they were encamped and made off. Only a heap of mouldering wood and ashes remained, but one little child had during the alarm stolen away and hidden himself.

Just beyond the village was a sort of pound, into which the flocks of slaves used to be driven and herded for the night like cattle, on their way down to Egypt. Still onward went the avengers till evening, when Gessi halted by a brook in the forest. No camp-fire was lighted, for it was known that the enemy lay but a few miles further, and the attack was to be made the next morning. An hour after midnight, however, the sentries who were keeping watch as outposts saw seven men approaching, who called out that they had a message for Rabi from "Sultan" Idris. Rabi was a chief who was an ally of Suleiman, and the commander of the rebel band not far off. These men were scouts sent by Idris. They had mistaken Gessi's camp for that of which they were in search; and their message was, that as the "sultan" was only a short distance behind with many men and much merchandise, Rabi was entreated to delay his march that the two forces might travel together.

Gessi was equal to the occasion. He would not see the men, as his speech would have told them that he was not Rabi, but he sent word that as he had a number of wounded with him he could not delay, but would make a halt at some distance further on, and there wait. One man took the message back, the other six were invited to stay and eat, and as soon as their companion had departed they were seized and secured. Gessi then gave the word to march; and by daybreak he came suddenly upon Rabi's camp just as he was making ready to move on. The surprise was complete, and the slave-dealers were utterly routed, many of them being taken prisoners, though Rabi mounted on a swift horse contrived to escape. The flags and all the stores were captured; and no sooner was the fight over than Gessi had the

ground cleared of the evidences of the struggle, and the dead and wounded removed. He pitched his tent in a glade of the forest, set up Rabi's flag, and sent out scouts, who were instructed to fall in with the sultan's force as though they had come upon it by accident, and to act as guides to the camp. This Idris, who called himself sultan, was no more than a chief slave-hunter, who owned a great seriba composed of large farmsteads entirely shut in by tall hedges of straw-plait or thatch, and occupied by the various great slave-traders who had settled in the country. He fell into the trap that had been laid for him. Gessi had posted his men in the glade, where they crouched in the long grass. A storm of wind and rain caused the enemy to hurry on in disorder, that they might find shelter, as they supposed, in the camp of Rabi. As they crowded into the glade a signal was given, and a deadly volley was fired upon them. There was no escape; some threw themselves on the ground, others tried in vain to break through the ring of their assailants. Not a man of them was left standing when the firing was discontinued; but Idris and half a dozen of his body-guard had found shelter under a tree at some distance, and had taken flight when they heard the sound of the shots. The spoils that fell into the hands of the soldiers were very great and of considerable value, including horses, asses, oxen, linen cloth, and copper vessels.

The men were too fatigued and too much exhausted for want of food to continue the pursuit. The rebel bands were broken up, and the way lay through a forest where there were no habitations, and where consequently no grain could be found. The provisions which they had seized would only just suffice to enable them to travel back to Dehm Suleiman, and they started on the following day, to find, on their return march, that the natives had finished the work that they had begun, by rising against their former tyrants and attacking them as they fled.

Gessi had been away nine days, and his return was like a triumphal march. He entered Dehm Suleiman with his followers, who dragged the chained and captive chiefs of the slave-traders with them, while a long train of the common prisoners carried the

vast store of ivory which had been taken among the spoils and set apart as the property of the state. So great was the stock of elephants' tusks that in one week 1500 porters were sent off laden with them, and another large train followed a few days afterwards.

Gessi, looking older and haggard for want of sleep, needed repose, and his men settled down for a short rest. Some expeditions were sent out to cut off stray bands of the slave-hunters, but no more could be done for some little time.

On the 25th of June, 1879, Gessi met Gordon at Toashia, to report to him that the last of the bands of robber slave-dealers was crushed. Gessi was made a pasha, with the second class order of the Osmanlic and a gift of £2000. Gordon, having arranged with him for the future of the Bahr Gazelle, was just about to start on his return to Khartûm, and Gessi was to go back that he might follow up the son of Zebehr. There would be no security against another revolt and a renewal of the slave-traffic till this man and his remaining confederates were brought to justice, for Zebehr was still plotting, and nothing but a complete breaking up of the gangs in the Bahr Gazelle, and the thorough sweeping out of the traders in Shakka, would suffice to put an end to the atrocities that had been systematically perpetrated.

Gordon had been all this time pursuing his arduous journey, travelling at night to avoid the terrible heat, often in want of food and with little water, many of the wells being dry. He could not do as Gessi had done, for there was no actual rebellion, and therefore the slave-dealers were not shot, but those who had gangs of slaves illegally obtained were put in chains till they could be sent to prison; the male slaves were placed in the ranks of his army, the women were told off to be wives (!) of the soldiers, the children were to be sent to Obeid. There was nothing else to be done, and he had to be continually on the alert to intercept the slave caravans which were hidden in the woods or in the long grass away from the road by which he and his followers were travelling. He had to be equally watchful of his own men. When one caravan came in he noticed that the captured camel had no water-bags on him, and as he felt sure it would not have come unladen, he made

inquiry, and discovered that the men who captured the caravan had taken five of the slaves and two donkeys and the water-bags. What could be done with such people? "I declare," he wrote from Edowa, "if I could stop this traffic I would willingly be shot this night; this shows my ardent desire, and yet, strive as I can, I can hardly see any hope of averting the evil. Now comes the question—Could I sacrifice my life and remain in Kordofan and Darfour? To die quickly would be to me nothing, but the long crucifixion that a residence in these horrid countries entails, appals me. Yet I feel that if I could screw my mind up to it, I could cause the trade to cease, for its roots are in these countries. The East Soudan is now quiet and free from the slave-trade. But I do not think I can face the cross of staying here, simply on physical grounds. I have written to the khedive to say I will not remain as governor-general, for I feel I cannot govern the country to satisfy myself. Now, as I will not stay as governor-general of the whole Soudan, query, shall I stay as the governor of the West Soudan and crush the slave-dealers? Many will say it is a worthy cause to die in. I agree if the death was speedy, but oh! it is a long and weary one, and for the moment I cannot face it."

But he remained and prosecuted the object of his dangerous and almost desperate journey, for he was encouraged by the news he received from Gessi, and began to believe that he and his brave lieutenant would after all be able to put an end to the slave-trade. He hoped to make a clean sweep of Shakka when he reached that den of iniquity, from which he was then only a day's journey, and to give a death-blow to the slave-dealers, of whom there were about a hundred in the place. Having arrived at Shakka he heard that Gessi wanted no more troops or ammunition, so he determined to recall the men who were *en route* and send them to Dara, where he intended to go in ten days and try to capture Haroun.

"When one thinks of the enormous number of slaves which have passed into Egypt from these parts in the last few years," he wrote, "one can scarcely conceive what has become of them. There must have been thousands on thousands of them. And

then again, where do they all come from? For the lands of the natives which I have seen are not densely peopled. . . . We must have caught 2000 in less than nine months, and I expect we did not catch one-fifth of the caravans. Again, how many died *en route*?"

He proposed to reinstate the family of the Sultan Ibrahim at Darfûr, and telegraphed to the khedive to send up the son of the sultan. The thievish employés made quiet or just government impossible, and the only thing to be done was to restore the old régime. His telegram was not answered, and the heir whom he would have restored was kept in Cairo. The letter that Gordon did receive was one asking for £12,000; while his men in camp at Shakka were fifteen months to two years in arrears of pay, and were more than half naked. So he answered: "When the nakedness of my troops is partially covered I may talk to you. In the meantime send me up at once the £12,000 you unfairly took in customs on goods in transit to the Soudan."

He no longer cared what he said, for he had discovered that no one could keep the incendiary materials of the Soudan quiet until he had been there some years, and it would then end in the Cairo finance having to meet the Soudan deficit. It was only by hard camel-riding that he could keep his position among the people. The slave-dealers had left Shakka in dismay, and he hoped that the place was clear of them for ever. But he had begun to ask himself how it was possible permanently to suppress the traffic under such a government as that at Cairo.

The government of the Egyptians in those far-off countries was nothing else but one of brigandage of the very worst description. "If the liberation of slaves is to take place in 1884 (in Egypt proper) and the present system of government goes on there cannot fail to be a revolt of the whole country."

This is significant in the light of the insurrection fomented by the Mahdi in the following year. "Our government will go on sleeping till it comes, and then have to act *a l'improviste*. If you had read the accounts of the tremendous debates which took place in 1833 on the liberation of the West Indian slaves, even on

payment of £20,000,000, you would have some idea how owners of slaves (even Christians) hold to their property. . . . It is rather amusing to think that the people of Cairo are quite oblivious that in 1884 their revenue will fall to one-half, and that the country will need many more troops to keep it quiet. Seven-eighths of the population of the Soudan are slaves; and the loss of revenue in 1889 (the date fixed for the liberation of slaves in Egypt's outlying territories) will be more than two-thirds, if it is ever carried out."

He had begun to estimate Ismail Pasha by another standard, though he still thought of him kindly, and afterwards deplored his misfortunes. "No one is ever obliged to enter the service of one of these states; and if he does he has to blame himself, and not the Oriental state. If the Oriental state is well governed, then it is very sure he will never be wanted. The rottenness of the state is his *raison d'être;* and it is absurd for him to be surprised at things not being as they ought to be according to his ideas. He ought to be surprised that they are not more rotten. I admire the khedive exceedingly; he is the perfect type of his people, thoroughly consistent to all their principles—a splendid leopard! Look at the numberless cages out of which he has broken his way when it seemed quite impossible for him to do so. Nubar once summed him up thus: "He is a man of no principle, but capable of very chivalrous impulses; and if he was with a better entourage he would do well."

It would seem as though Gordon had become convinced that the ultimate suppression of the slave-trade was impossible unless a European governor, free from the intrigues and treachery of the Egyptian government, could be permanently in authority. "If you put aside the suppression of the slave-trade, now that there is no revolt in the East Soudan, I have no hesitation in saying that an Arab governor suits the people better, and is more agreeable to them than a European." This too is significant when we know that five years later, while he was endeavouring to hold Khartûm, he proposed that the arch-traitor Zebehr, who still survived, should be restored to a command. But of that most extra-

ordinary conclusion we shall have to speak in a later page of this history.

Zebehr's son Suleiman, fleeing from Gessi who was boldly pursuing him, had sent as emissaries to Shakka four or five of his followers who had escaped with him. Probably he did not know what frequent communications had been made to Gordon by Gessi, and these men were ready with a hypocritical message that Suleiman was still loyal to the khedive. One of the men was chief secretary to Zebehr himself, and the others were old offenders against the government, and had been concerned in the massacre of the government soldiers in the Bahr Gazelle. Gordon had them tried by court-martial, and they were found guilty and shot, a sentence which hastened the flight of the slave-dealers from the country. Gordon then set out for Kalaka, where he suspected that the marauding Arabs, who were employed to root out the brigands, had not done so effectually. He had determined to form a regency for the government of Darfûr—consisting of the ex-vizier, whom he had liberated from prison at Suakim in December, 1877, and the ex-commander-in-chief of the late sultan. More than one-third of the population had been carried into slavery. Kalaka was in a state of extreme excitement at the news of Gordon's approach. Four slave-dealers had been stopped by the Arab tribes, and he expected to catch a great number of them; they were at their wits' end where to go, for there was no refuge left, the Bedouin tribes being on the look-out. Gordon was now determined to make a clean sweep of them whether the khedive liked it or not.

For the next two months the story of his journeys is one painful narrative of privations, dangers, and terrible spectacles of wretched and destitute creatures who were delivered from their captors, and to provide for whom was a constant and difficult problem. The slave-dealers, whom he could not always punish by shooting them, were frequently flogged, stripped of their possessions, and sent adrift; but much discrimination had to be used, because of the legality of the traffic within certain limits. The slave *hunters* were, however, summarily dealt with, mostly by being stripped and sent "like Adams" into the wilderness.



ISMAIL PASHA.

KHEDIVE OF EGYPT. 1863-1879.

At the very outset one great object of his journey was to prevent Zebehr's bands from breaking into Darfûr and joining the *soi-disant* sultan there, who was in revolt in the hills. He therefore set out for Dara with the resolution to stamp out the brigands from every station on the way. His troubles, however, had come much more from his own people than from without. He despaired of the government. Over and over again he could trace the miseries to the lust of some official for the paltry sum of £15 or so.

So arduous and engrossing were his exertions that he lost count of the date of the month for some time; but on the 1st of May, "so they say," started on his journey, in a monotonous country all sandy plain with jungly trees.

From Dara to Fascher, Kobēit Kakabieh,—near which a large body of brigands tried to rob the rear of the column,—Kolkol, Fascher; where he had a telegraph from the khedive to go to Cairo at once, and started for Oomchanga on his way back to Khartûm, and thence to Cairo.

There, too, he heard from Gessi of the capture of the stronghold of Zebehr's son, and, thinking this was a proof that Suleiman was crushed, prepared to go quickly on the return journey. But he was stopped by the report that the brigand chiefs had escaped from Dara, and with a large following were marching into Darfûr. There was danger of their forces joining those of Haroun, and as Gessi and Yussuf Bey, the commanders of the troops who had defeated Zebehr's son, were separated from the main body of their troops by a river which might at any time be swelled into an impassable torrent, he determined to start again for Dara through Toashia.

The story of this journey is again one of repeated breaking up of gangs of slave-dealers and the liberation of their unhappy captives. At Toashia on the 19th of June, 1879, he wrote: "Upwards of 470 slave-dealers have been driven out of this place since I came here two days ago. This evening we were surprised at a caravan of 122 slaves coming in; the slave-dealers had come in here with them, and, hearing I was here and having no water,

they abandoned their slaves and fled. The slaves were badly distressed by thirst, thirty had died on the road. They had come from near Dara." The water was putrid. From Oomchanga to Toashia, during, say a week, 500 to 600 slaves had been caught. The slaves captured at Toashia had been four or five days without water.

We have seen, by the foregoing narrative of Gordon's governorship and his indefatigable exertions, what was the condition of the Soudan, and what were the prospects of the attempts to suppress slavery in the outer territories of Egypt at the time that he was preparing to relinquish his command. It is necessary for the proper understanding of the question of the relations of Egypt and the Soudan to European intervention in the administration, that we should form some conception of the magnitude of the evils to be encountered, and the corruption and inefficiency of the government at Cairo. Before we revert briefly to the general financial condition of Egypt, and the course of action which led to the deposition of the Khedive Ismail and the accession of Tewfik, we will in a page or two close the story of Gordon's experiences in that terrible journey to Toashia by reading in his own words one or two pictures out of many harrowing scenes. On the road to Shakka he had written:—

"All the road is marked by the camping-places of the slave-dealers, and there are numerous skulls by the side of the road. What thousands have passed along here! . . . I hear some districts are completely depopulated, all the inhabitants having been captured or starved to death. If our government, instead of bothering the khedive about that wretched debt, had spent £1000 a year in sending up a consul here, what a deal of suffering might have been saved! . . . As for slaves, I am sick of them, and hope soon to see the last of them; poor creatures! I am sorry I cannot take them back to their own countries, but it is impossible to do so. . . . . There must have been over 1000 slaves in this den, and yet the slave-dealers had had warning of my approach; and at least as many as 500 must have got away from me. The Bedouin Arabs are up all over the country, and so are the black

tribes, I hear, at Bahr Gazelle. We have got at the heart of them this time; but for how many years has this been going on?

"Just as I wrote this I heard a very great tumult going on among the Arabs, and I feared a fight. However, it turned out to be caused by the division of the slaves among the tribes; and now the country is covered by strings of slaves going off in all directions with their new owners. The ostriches are running all about, and do not know what to make of their liberty. What a terrible time of it these poor, patient slaves have had for the last three days—hurried on all sides, and forced first one day's march in one direction, and then off again in another. It appears that the slaves were not divided, but were scrambled for. It is a horrid idea, for, of course, families get separated; but I cannot help it, and the slaves seem to be perfectly indifferent to anything whatsoever. Imagine what it must be to be dragged from your home to places so far off—even further than Marseilles or Rome. In their own lands some of these slaves have delightful abodes, close to running water, with pleasant glades of trees, and seem so happy; and then to be dragged off into these torrid, water-forsaken countries, where to *exist* only is a struggle against nature!"

As he pursued his journey the vast number of skulls and unburied remains of the wretched slaves, who had been killed or had fallen by the way, aroused his pity and indignation.

"Why should I, at every mile, be stared at by the grinning skulls of those who are at rest? I say to Yussuf Bey, who is a noted slave-dealer, 'The inmate of that ball has told Allah what you and your people have done to him and his.'

"Yussuf Bey says, 'I did not do it;' and I say, 'Your nation did, and the curse of God will be on your land till this traffic ceases.' . . Just as I wrote these words they came and told me that another caravan of eighteen slaves had been captured, with two camels. I went to see the poor creatures. They were mostly children and women—such skeletons some of them. Two slave-dealers had escaped. Now fancy all this going on after all the examples I have made! Fancy, that in less than twenty-four hours I have caught seventy! There is no reason to doubt, but

that seventy a day have been passing for the last year or so. You know how many caravans I have caught—some seventy or eighty; besides those 1000 I liberated (?) at Kalaka. It is enough to cause despair. Thus, in three days, we have caught 400 slaves. The number of skulls along the road is appalling. We shall capture a number more at the wells to-night, for as the slave-dealers thought I should act on what Abel Bey told me (*i.e.*, that there were no slaves or slave-dealers here), and as they had deceived the Italian, they had not taken the precaution of filling their water-bags. Thus they are unable to flee, as there lies three days' journey around here without water. Now, the wells here are guarded. The number of slaves captured from the dealers in this campaign must be close upon 1700! I have no doubt that very great suffering is going on among the poor slaves still at large; for the dealers not yet captured will not be able to go to the wells to-night, and they will not surrender till pounced on to-morrow. The slaves are delighted; they are mostly women and children.

". . . We have caught more slaves during last night and to-day. The slave-dealers, seeing the wells guarded, let them go. However, some huge caravans, regardless of their having no water, and of the three days' desert, have escaped. They were pursued by some of the natives, but the slave-dealers fired on them, and so the natives returned here. They noticed that one of the fugitives had died *en route*. It is very terrible to think of the great suffering of the poor slaves thus dragged away; but I had no option in the matter, for I could not catch them. The water here is horrible,—it smells even when fresh from the wells. I have ordered the skulls, which lay about here in great numbers, to be piled in a heap, as a memento to the natives of what the slave-dealers have done to their people. . . . To give you an idea of the callousness of the people in these lands, I will tell you what happened to-day. I heard a voice complaining and moaning for some hours, and at last I sent to inquire what it was. It turned out to be an Egyptian soldier, who was ill and wanted water. There were within hearing some thirty or forty people—some of them his

fellow-soldiers—yet not one, though they understood his language, would give a thought to him. . . ."

The vast numbers of slaves passed through the country was appalling, and it was a great work to have broken up the central depôts and to have practically dispersed or destroyed the brutal leaders of the traffic. In 1836 to 1840 it was computed that about 10,000 Abyssinian slaves were sold in the bazaars every year, beside the great number of slaves brought from Kordofan and Darfûr; but the traffic had enormously increased, even though the open slave-markets had been abolished in Egypt, and the capture and sale of the people as slaves was against the law. The increase in the traffic was scarcely more appalling than the continued brutality of it, however; and Gordon made a computation of the number of slaves and the total loss of life in Darfûr and the Bahr Gazelle during the years 1875–1879. It came to 16,000 Egyptian and some 50,000 natives of Darfûr. "Add to this the loss of life in the Bahr Gazelle, some 15,000, and you will have a fine total of 81,000, and this exclusive of the slave-trade, which we may put down for these years at from 80,000 to 100,000."

Neither Gordon's nor Gessi's work was quite accomplished when they met at Toashia. Gessi had still to pursue Zebehr's son, for the rebels were gathering their forces again. Suleiman's intention was to join Haroun, the claimant of the throne of Darfûr. Early in July, 1879, word was brought to Gessi by a deserter that Suleiman was only three days' march distant. Gessi had already marched to break up the bands of the brigands, and he started at once after their chief with only three companies, or 300 men in all, but each man well armed with a Remington rifle. Directly Suleiman heard of their approach he broke up his camp and fled with nearly 900 men towards the hill country, while Rabi with 700 men hurried off in another direction towards the same destination.

There was no time for delay, and with his usual determined energy Gessi pushed on, left his baggage in a village under the care of twenty of his less capable men, and with the rest marched for three days and nights through the forest, over ground which a heavy rain was transforming into deep mud.

He came abreast of the enemy at night when they were only a few miles distant. At daybreak he surprised them while they were asleep in a village, which he could not surround with his small force, so he posted his men in the woods where the trees prevented the enemy from seeing how few they were in number. He then called upon Suleiman and his followers to lay down their arms and surrender. If they failed to do so in ten minutes he would at once close upon them. They were astonished and alarmed, and not knowing the strength of their assailants agreed to yield. Many of them at the first alarm had contrived to escape into the woods, but the rest obeyed the order to go forward a hundred yards from the village and lay their arms upon the ground.

Suleiman began to weep when he saw the small number of men to whom he and his followers had yielded, and upbraiding one of his chiefs for having told him that there were 3000 while there were only 300 against his band of 700, cried out, "If only my father had been here to take the command, we should never have been beaten."

The prisoners were not bound, but were kept in the village under close guard. After dark, however, an alarm was given that they had managed to communicate with the rebels who were hiding in the woods. Their horses were found saddled and bearing arms and provisions. Their plan was to steal out at midnight, to mount the horses, and with their companions who had escaped, to join the ferocious chief Abdulgassie, who was waiting with a strong force at some distance ahead. "I saw that the time had come to have done with these people once for all," wrote Gessi in his subsequent report. The slave soldiers, who were scarcely responsible, he liberated on condition that they returned to their own country and gave up marauding. They promised cheerfully enough and were sent away under an escort; the ordinary slave-dealers (157 in number) were sent off by another route as prisoners. To the eleven slave-hunting chiefs no mercy could be shown. They had been warned over and over again, and now they were to pay the penalty of their long-continued cruelties and repeated rebellion.

They were all shot, none of them showing any signs of sorrow, though one shed tears at his fate and Suleiman sank to the ground in fear. Abdulgassie's band broke up, and that chief, "the hyæna of those parts," was taken some time afterwards, and Gordon ordered him to be shot for his notorious brutalities. Rabi alone escaped and fled far into the interior of the country. Gessi had now broken the neck of the revolt, and, aided by the tribes who were ready to attack the scattered parties of those who had stolen their children and desolated their villages, he hunted down the remaining bands.

When Gordon arrived at Fogia on the 1st of July, 1879, he found awaiting him a telegram from Cherif Pasha announcing that the sultan had named Tewfik Pasha khedive, and that he was to proclaim it in the Soudan. He merely telegraphed the necessary orders, and acknowledged to Cherif Pasha the receipt of his message. On the 29th of July he left Khartûm, and arrived at Cairo on the 23rd of August in no very complacent mood. He resented the deposition of Ismail notwithstanding the bad faith with which he had acted. "I am one of those he fooled," wrote Gordon afterwards when he had learned a little more of the reasons for the khedive's deposition, "but I bear him no grudge. It is a blessing for Egypt that he has gone." Gordon's own governorship of the Soudan was at an end when he wrote this. He was on his way back from Abyssinia, whither he had been to try to pacificate the king Johannis at the earnest request of Tewfik, the new khedive.

Gordon first felt inclined to reject Tewfik's civilities. He declined the special train, especially as he thought it was likely he would be called upon to pay for it, but he consented to go to lodge at the palace instead of going to an hotel as he had at first intended.

At his interview with Tewfik he said at once that he did not mean to go back to the Soudan, but would go to Massowa, settle with Johannis, and then go home. "He told me that my enemies with his father and with him had urged my dismissal, that he had had terrible complaints against me, at which I laughed, and

he did so also." When departing for Massowa Gordon left word that if on his return he heard that any of the council of ministers had said anything against him, he would beg the khedive to make his traducer governor of the Soudan, which would be a punishment equivalent to a sentence of death. Gordon's latest instructions were that he was to cede nothing to Johannis, and yet was to avoid a war; but Bogos was already in the hands of the Abyssinians. On the road he learned that Walad el Michael had been made prisoner by Aloula, the lieutenant in chief of Johannis, and that his son had been killed. At Goula, the rendezvous, he met Aloula, who referred him to the king, and agreed not to attack Egypt during his absence. After twelve days' journey by a vile road he met Johannis near Gondar. When asked what were his demands Johannis replied: "You want peace—well, I want the retrocession of Mesemme, Changallas, and Bogos, cession of Zeila and Amphilla (ports), an Abuna, and a sum of money from one to two million pounds; or if his highness likes better than paying money then I will take Bogos, Massowa, and the Abuna. I could claim Dongola, Berber, Nubia, and Sennâr, but will not do so. Also I want territory near Harrar." These preposterous claims had been suggested to the king by the Greek consul at Suez, who was with him at the time. Gordon asked Johannis to put his demands in writing; but this he did not quite like to do, nor was he ready to withdraw them. After some delays, during which Gordon was treated with scant hospitality, a letter was forthcoming just as he had started without it. A present of money accompanied it, which Gordon sent back. All that the letter said was, "I have received the letters you sent me by that man. I will not make a secret peace with you. If you want peace ask the sultans of Europe." Gordon had started for Kalabat intending to go to Khartûm, but the king had him arrested and brought back through Abyssinia. On his journey he was again and again arrested, insulted, and had to suffer many indignities. He perhaps would not have reached Massowa alive had he not spent a large sum in bribing his assailants. The khedive had taken no notice of his urgent request by telegraph, while he was a prisoner, that a war

steamer and an armed force should be sent to Massowa. When he reached that place on the 8th of December, 1879, he was rejoiced to see the English gunboat *Sea-gull.* Then he felt that his misery was over.

Shortly before his departure he had given up the district Ungoro, and the stations had been evacuated by Egyptian troops. Massimi and Kissima had been given up two years before. The Victoria Nile was now the boundary of the khedive's territory, and new stations were formed to defend it. Gordon returned to England almost worn out, and with a desire to rest in comparative obscurity; but that dream was not to be realized.

He had sent in his resignation on his way back to Egypt, and the khedive in his affectedly European way had written: "I should have liked to retain your services, but in view of your persistent tender of resignation am obliged to accept it. I regret, my dear Pasha, losing your co-operation; and in parting with you, must express my sincere thanks to you, assuring you that the remembrance of you and your services to the country will outlive your retirement."

This was cold-blooded enough, but influences at Cairo would account for it. Already affairs in the Soudan had undergone a change, that may be said to have threatened a return to the disorders and the atrocities which Gordon had striven so hard to suppress. In the equatorial provinces, of which Dr. Emin Bey had been made governor, many improvements were made, and Lado, his head-quarters, was greatly increased in size and importance. But the kind of reaction that was imminent may be understood from the fact that Raouf Pasha, the man whom Gordon twice turned out because of his oppression and dishonest dealing, was made governor of Khartûm; another pasha was appointed to Massowa and the adjacent coast; and a third to Berber, Zeila, and the district of Harrar.

As to Zebehr, the papers left behind by his son Suleiman proved him to be such a traitor that his trial was inevitable. He was a pasha of Egypt, and had caused the revolt in which the Egyptian troops had been massacred; he had been the chief slave-

trader, and had caused the devastation of vast tracts of territory, the stealing of multitudes of women and children, the murder of thousands of wretched natives, the desolation of unnumbered homes. His secret papers were laid before the council. He was tried and sentenced to death, and—he was pensioned with an allowance of £100 a month.

But what became of Gessi, who, as governor of the Bahr Gazelle, had completely stamped out the slave traffic, had largely restored the ivory trade, and had begun successfully to encourage agriculture? When Gordon had left the Soudan and there was no strong central government, slave-dealers reappeared in other parts of the country, and the caravans of miserable captives were again on the routes to Lower Egypt and the Red Sea ports. Raouf Pasha was the elect of Cairo, and Gessi soon found that it would be impossible to hold his position under such a régime, so he resigned his post in September, 1880, and went his way to Khartûm. On the journey the steamers in which he and his followers made the voyage were caught by the sudd, and everybody suffered dreadful privations—sickness and famine. He arrived at Khartûm, where he was received with only half-concealed hostility, and, broken in health, contrived to reach Suez, where, on the 30th of April, 1881, he died from the effects of his previous sufferings. He was succeeded in the governorship of the Bahr Gazelle by an Englishman named Lupton (Lupton Bey), who had, it is said, been formerly known as a newspaper reporter or contributor, and had left Fleet Street for a life of adventure in the doubtful regions of political intrigue at Cairo or the uncertain pursuit of official advantages in the Soudan.

Such were the events which followed the resignation of Gordon and the retirement and death of Gessi; and they were almost immediately followed by the insurrection (in May, 1881) which arose and spread with alarming rapidity in support of the pretensions of the "*Mahdi*," or false prophet, of whose rebellion the strange story will be told in a later page.

It would be of little advantage to enter the bewildering maze of Egyptian finance, and yet it is necessary for the purpose of keeping to the main narrative that we should take a brief glance at the conditions which led to the deposition of Ismail Pasha, and indirectly, at all events, to that European intervention, the ultimate results of which have not yet been witnessed nor its effects estimated. When Ismail succeeded his uncle, Said Pasha, as viceroy of Egypt in 1863 he was already a personage of high reputation and great authority. He was at that time thirty-three years old. He had received what in Egypt is called a European education, and doubtless possessed considerable accomplishments and remarkable ability. On his return from Paris in 1849—for he had been well veneered and French polished—he was so conspicuous a member of the viceregal family that he excited the jealousy of Abbas Pasha, who vainly endeavoured to crush him. On the accession of Said Pasha, however, Ismail was appointed to a high position in the administration, and was sent on special missions to Paris and Rome. He also acted as regent during his uncle's absence at Mecca and in Europe.

As to the character of Ismail, we have already seen what were the opinions of Gordon, who had a sincere admiration for him, and of Nubar Pasha, minister for foreign affairs, who was an Armenian and a Christian by profession. At all events Ismail was determined to be every inch a king, though he only succeeded to the pashalik, which was subordinate to, if not an actual dependency of the rule of the Sultan of Turkey. With remarkable energy for having his own way, and a certain adroitness, that was not altogether dissociated from a capacity for administration, he began under favourable conditions, which he utterly squandered because of his extravagance and the fatal recourse to repeated loans, of which the latest was only entered into for the purpose of staving off the demands of those that had preceded it. Unhappily, too, these loans, or the enormous interest upon the debts, had to be raised by oppressive taxation, which fell most heavily upon the wretched small farmers and peasantry, to whom the enlightened and educated "Khedive" Ismail was scarcely less ruthless a taskmaster than the semi-civilized Pasha

Mohammed Ali had been to their fathers. That Ismail should have acquired vast landed estates for himself and for the members of his family, has been adduced as a proof of his sound judgment and prudence or administrative ability; but the acquisition of estates by a prince of the reigning family in Egypt is scarcely surprising when it is noted that even subordinate officials contrived to amass immense property. In the latest year of Ismail's rule, except for the continued improvements in agriculture, the extension of public works, and the addition of palaces and public buildings, to pay for which a stifling debt was killing real prosperity, the country was much in the same condition as had characterized it forty years before. An examination of our own government blue-books for 1879 will show that official places were almost openly sold, and that the price was known almost as accurately as the quotations of the slave-market; that the fellaheen were seized to recruit the army, unless in the case of individuals who could bribe the officer; that taxes were demanded long before they were due, and their payment enforced by the kourbash or other punishments; that the system of forced labour was continued, the wretched people who were compelled to work for the purpose of maintaining the canals and water-courses having neither wages, rations, nor material found for them.

The reckless borrower, the extravagant magnifico,—who with occasional generous impulses scarcely hesitates to ruin a dozen unfortunate small tradesfolk, and who, while keeping a splendid house and a host of servants, and royally entertaining a circle of acquaintances between whom and himself there is scarcely a sentiment of friendship untainted by suspicion, descends to despicable shifts and expedients for the purpose of deferring the payment of his cook and his laundress, and will undergo extreme humiliation for the sake of securing a little ready money "to carry on with,"—is a well-known figure in private life, and works mischief enough in society. When the same disposition regulates the career of a ruler over a great country, and a people unable to struggle out of centuries of misgovernment, the spectacle would be universally appalling, but for the fact that so many of those

who are in a position to witness it are selfishly interested in doing their best to perpetuate the evil, while there is still enough wealth in the land to offer a reasonable prospect of the periodical payment of exorbitant interest and the ultimate extinction of even the more doubtful obligations.

Almost immediately on his succession Ismail Pasha sought to obtain from the Porte an acknowledgment of his virtual independence as ruler of Egypt. Previous viceroys had been obliged to acknowledge the precedence of the grand vizier at Constantinople, their own legitimate pretensions, in spite of their power and the extent of their territory, differing little from those of the governors-general of provinces, except in the particular of the succession having been made hereditary, not to the eldest son but to the eldest agnate of the family. Ismail's negotiations with Stamboul resulted in 1866 in the succession being granted from father to son, and in 1867 another firman gave him the title of *Khédiv-el-Misr*—*Khédiv* or *Khédewi* being in fact a Persian title of which the exact meaning is not clear, but at all events conferring a rank much superior to that of a mere governor or to the position of viceroy. The tribute was, of course, increased, and at each successive step (for there were several concessions) the fees and backsheesh amounted to an immense sum. It was not till 1872 that the latest restrictions were removed, and then the annual tribute to be paid to the sultan was about £700,000, while the black-mail or "presents" which had to be given to everybody who had anything to do—to the sultan Abdul Aziz himself and to the couriers who brought the messages—had during the seven years of negotiation exceeded the tribute itself in amount. Among the remaining restrictions was that of the number of the military and naval force to be raised and maintained in Egypt; but the Egyptian contingent and fleet of Said Pasha in the Crimea, and the military aid given by Ismail to the sultan in the Russo-Turkish war were in themselves both evidences of, and reasons for, the liberty of action which the Porte allowed in respect to the forces of the khedive, which in 1866 had been permitted by a firman to Ismail to be raised to a strength of 30,000 men.

Ismail had already a large family (according to European notions) when he succeeded to the throne: the Princess Tawfideh, married in 1878 to Mansour Pasha, a nephew of Mohammed Ali; Prince Mohammed Tewfik Pasha (heir-apparent), who was born in 1852, and married, in 1873, to Emineh Khanum, by whom, in 1874, he had a son, Abbas Bey; Prince Hussein-Kiamil Pasha, born in 1852, and married to a daughter of the late Achmet Pasha, by whom, in Dec., 1874, he had a son, Kemal-ed-dyn Bey; Prince Hassan Pasha, born 1853, and married in 1873 to Khadijah Khanum, by whom, in 1873, he had a son, Aziz Bey; Princess Fatma Khanum, married in 1873 to Toussoum Pasha (son of Said Pasha), who died in 1876; Prince Ibrahim Helmy Pasha, born in 1860; Prince Mahmoud Bey, born in 1863. Prince Fuad Bey, Princess Djemileh, Princess Emineh, and Prince Djemal-ed-dyn Bey, were born after their father's accession.

Though Ismail professed, and was believed to take the autocratic control, he of course had a privy-council and ministers. The privy-council, of which Mohammed Tewfik became president, acted as a court for suggesting administration, and reported on the budgets and the measures of the various departments; but the khedive had the sole confirmation of their decisions. The minister of finance till 1876 was Ismail Pasha Sadyk, who was so great a favourite of the khedive, and a man of such ability and ambition, that he is credited with having almost usurped supreme authority in his own department, and dictated to the other ministers, especially to Prince Tewfik, who, as minister of the interior, should have had the right of appointing the governors and officers of the provinces. Ismail Sadyk was an adept in the art of black-mailing, and of raising money, either by cruelly squeezing it out of the wretched fellaheen, of whom he had been one, or by "financing." To him is sometimes attributed the condition of insolvency into which the finances of Egypt drifted, and he was dismissed in November, 1876; but his master probably sacrificed him, as he could sacrifice anybody, to the pressure of outside opinion, and he had little to learn from his minister in the sciences of inflating credit, and "robbing Peter to pay Paul." The expenditure soon

far exceeded the average revenue, which in 1879 was about ten millions sterling, largely dependent on the land-tax, to pay which before it was due the people had to borrow money of usurers and at large interest. The national debt had reached the sum of eighty millions sterling, all borrowed between 1862 and the end 1879, it was therefore evident that the autocratic khedive either would not or could not control the financial administration.

Of the ways of the ministry of Ismail we have had some impression from their manner of dealing with the Soudan and its finances. The ministries of Finance, to which Prince Hassein Kiamil, the son of the khedive, succeeded; Foreign affairs, in which Nubar Pasha held the reins for a good part of the time; Public works, Interior (Prince Tewfik), Commerce, War (Prince Hassan Pasha, third son of the Khedive), Marine, and Public instruction, were, and are still, the departments. An "Assembly of Notables," composed of village sheikhs elected by the communes, met once a year, but nobody quite knew what it did, or what actual authority it exercised. The division of the country into provinces under mudirs or governors, each assisted by a council, of which the chief members are the kadi or judge, whose office has something of a religious character, and the *vakeel*, or deputy-governor, provides for the outer administration, as each province is divided into districts, presided over by a nazir, and every village has its *sheik-el-beled*. The most important towns, as Alexandria, Cairo, Suez, Port Said, Ismailia, Damietta, and Rosetta, possess local self-government, and, as we have seen, the territory outside Egypt proper is governed according to circumstances or to the price paid for the appointments.

Until 1876 there were no regular courts of justice in Egypt before which foreigners who had committed crimes or offences against the law could be brought to trial. Each of the European powers has an agent or consul-general accredited to the khedive, and with a consulate at Alexandria in summer and at Cairo in winter; and there are, of course, consuls, vice-consuls, and consular agents at the seaports and large towns. Till the date mentioned foreign offenders could only be made answerable to the consuls of the countries to which they belonged, and consequently there were

seventeen consular courts. The confusion and miscarriage of justice was quite notorious, so that it became necessary to make some alteration in this system, and in 1869 Nubar Pasha exerted himself to induce his government to apply for the appointment of an international commission, which, after considering the matter for about seven years, succeeded in establishing mixed tribunals of natives and foreigners for the trial of cases between persons of different nationalities, and between natives and foreigners. These tribunals consist of courts of first and second instance, and the law on which they proceed is the modification of the Code Napoleon which was long ago adopted in Egypt; the languages used in the courts being English, French, and Italian. The court of first instance consists of seven judges—four Europeans and three natives, and no case can be decided by fewer than five—three Europeans and two natives. The court of appeal consists of eleven judges—seven Europeans and four natives, and no case can be decided by fewer than eight—five Europeans and three natives. The consular courts, however, continue to exercise jurisdiction in criminal and civil cases between foreigners of the same nationality.

We have already seen that in 1862, the last year of the reign of Said Pasha, the expenditure exceeded the revenue by about £300,000, and the public debt was £3,292,300. On the 1st of January, 1882, the nominal amount of the Egyptian debt was £99,254,920, to which it had increased from £76,000,000 as fixed by the report of Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert in 1876.

Said Pasha, evidently, had not left any very heavy financial responsibilities to his successor. But a new era was supposed to have opened for Egypt when Ismail came to the throne, and began to push on public works and improvements with even more energy and with a far greater recklessness of cost than had distinguished his enterprising grandfather, Mohammed Ali. The result has been, that railways, some of which are incomplete, have been established; harbours formed; a complete telegraph system secured over the country; Alexandria renovated, and vast improvements made, not only in the modern city, but in the harbour and the

depots; Cairo transformed into a brilliant and delightful city, an almost cosmopolitan place of resort. The commerce of Egypt, as well as its agriculture, and especially the growth of cotton, has also been immensely extended. These rapid developments of conditions which are usually regarded as indications of national prosperity, found admirers, or, at all events, apologists, especially among those who were deeply interested in obtaining highly profitable contracts for carrying out engineering and other public works, and by those officials whose appointments depended on the prosecution of the various enterprises. On the other hand, however, were those who declared that the brilliant achievements of Ismail were only effected by the ruin and bankruptcy of the state and the oppression of the people of Egypt. The latter opinion began to be shared by many of the bondholders and creditors who had helped to advance the loans, and had been by no means careful to condemn the extravagance of the khedive, or to perceive how insupportable was the burden laid on the native population, until a note of alarm was sounded, and fears were entertained about the capacity of the Egyptian treasury to provide for the fulfilment of the engagements of the government.

It is not too much to say that from the time of Mohammed Ali there had been scarcely any radical changes in the mode of administration, as it affected the people, and especially the fellaheen —the agricultural population; while the employment of foreigners, and the manner of promoting official appointments, contracts for public works at enormous charges, and mercantile or manufacturing speculations forming considerable additions to the expenditure and controlled by alien directors, aroused widespread dissatisfaction. This was not allowed to slumber either by the old conservative Egyptian pashas, who hate and continually endeavour to frustrate the endeavours of Europeans in the service of the khedive, or by the increasing party of "nationalists," who twenty years ago adopted the cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians," meaning thereby independence of the Turkish government, but have given it greater and bitterer emphasis since it has been directed against Europeans employed by the government of Egypt or taking the direction of

the affairs of the country. At the same time it must be remembered that such intervention by Europeans became inevitable when the "sinews of war"—the money that was to prevent insolvency and enable the Egyptian government to complete the enterprises which it had undertaken, had been provided by European capitalists—and the debts thus incurred were necessarily secured by being made a charge on the revenue, which itself depended on the method of administering public affairs. The khedive may be said to have pawned his country, and with it the authority of its governing organization; and perhaps the whole of the disputed question of the rights or claims of bondholders may be sifted down to the initial inquiry, whether anything can justify a ruler in making such a pledge, or his creditors in accepting it, knowing that it must involve, not only the resources of the country, but the liberties and the national claims of the people from whom those resources have to be drawn. But there is another side to the question. The development and the progress of Egypt would have been indefinitely protracted, perhaps would have remained impossible; unless Mohammed Ali had shown the example,—which was too precipitately followed by his grandson,—of seeking the aid of Europeans, and especially the practical and industrial aid of the English, in those enterprises which alone can insure the material prosperity and the influence of a nation. It would have been impossible to achieve any such plans with the aid of native officials, it has been impossible ever since. Egypt has never yet succeeded in obtaining a native government the officials of which, from the khedive to the pashas and downward to the collectors of taxes and the messengers and hangers-on of the viceregal court, have not been corruptible by bribery. Bribery and corruption have always been recognized as the foremost inducements for seeking to obtain government employment. Only in cases where they have led to awkward consequences, because of their affecting the welfare or the opinions of Europeans, have they been counted as crimes, or even as grave delinquencies. We have seen how they worked with regard to the maintenance of slavery, and also of active rebellion in the Soudan, and it was from Cairo itself that they were effected.

Whatever may have been the grounds of complaints made—mostly by interested Egyptian pashas and officers—against Europeans holding offices, or employed on public works by the khedival government, the real ground of complaint should have been that of the common people—the people to whom it was made impossible that they should really hold any property or accumulate any personal material interest in the country because of the rapacity of their rulers, who handed down bribery and oppression as the watchwords of government, and feared nothing so much as the scrutinizing eye of the European, whose rank and character had led to his being invited to investigate their proceedings.

Another word may be said while speaking on this point. There was nothing out of place in the fact that when European advice or intervention was required, England had always taken a prominent place in the direction of Egyptian affairs. Though the resident English are much fewer than the Italians and French (the approximate proportions being as 8 English to 12 French and 25 Italians), England is not only a creditor for a great proportion of the debt (a position which more than once has unhappily induced us to consent to the adoption of a high-handed control over the Egyptian revenue, which resulted only in jealousy, hatred, confusion, and rebellion), but has also far larger commercial relations with Egypt than those of any other nation; so large, indeed, that they amount to more than those of all the other nations of Europe added together. Of the staple exports from Egypt we take four-fifths of the cotton, eleven-twelfths of the beans, nine-tenths of the wheat, five-sixths of the maize, nine-tenths of the other edible cereals except rice, almost all of which goes to the Levant; four-fifths of the flax, and nearly all the linseed; about half the sugar; three-fourths of the wool; and from the interior, by far the greater part of the ivory and gum arabic. These returns are on an average of ten years made in 1882, and in the six years, 1874–1879, the total exports from Egypt were in value £74,603,000, of which Great Britain took £52,589,000; France, £8,194,000; Italy, £3,683,000; Austria, 3,362,000; Russia, £3,259,000; Turkey, £2,542,000; leaving the remainder to be distributed elsewhere.

In the same period the imports into Egypt were £29,282,000, of which there were supplied by Great Britain £16,247,000; by France, 5,494,000; by Austria, £3,131,000; by India, China, and Japan, £1,424,000; by Italy, £1,289,000. These figures will show that England necessarily had a considerable influence in any European management which Egypt either solicited or endured; but it should be added that in 1875 the government of Great Britain had become the owner of nine-twentieths of the shares in the Suez Canal by the advice of Mr. Disraeli, who was then prime minister. Said Pasha had originally subscribed for 177,642 shares out of 400,000 shares of £20 each; but in 1875 some had been disposed of and 176,602 were left, for which we gave £4,000,000. The khedive had previously attempted to sell them to a French financial company; on his failure to do so, his offer to transfer them to the English government was accepted, with the proviso, that during a period of nineteen years, for which the dividends had been alienated from the shares, he was to pay five per cent on the purchase money. It was represented that at the end of that time, though the shares might have become more valuable, a large amount of capital might be required for the maintenance and improvement of the canal. Opinion on the policy of purchasing these shares was divided. There were those who held that it was a sagacious stroke to secure for England a large if not a preponderating interest in what was likely to become the highway to India, and where, while English shipping would far exceed that of any other nation, it was already evident that some resistance would have to be made to the demands of the French shareholders for the maintenance of heavy dues. On the other hand it was contended that the fact of British shipping being the chief means of making the canal a paying enterprise would give us all the control that would be necessary; and again, we were reminded that at the outset Lord Palmerston had opposed the construction of the canal, not only because of the physical difficulties that attended it and were regarded by some of the most eminent engineers as being fatal to its remunerative success; but because he foresaw political difficulties in consequence of it, and

was said to believe that one day the question would arise in reference to Egypt, of England becoming a great Mediterranean power. He also feared that the cordial alliance with France, which he always so warmly advocated, would be made more uncertain owing to the question of the Suez Canal.

The cutting of a waterway between the two seas was no new idea. It was as old as the Pharaohs. A canal had been made ages before, and had been restored, and lengthened, and improved, and then had fallen into ruin, and had disappeared, silted up by the inevitable sand, which was the obstacle that Robert Stephenson pointed to as insuperable when he was elected on the commission formed by England, France, and Austria, at the request of Mohammed Ali, to consider the question of a ship canal across the isthmus at its narrowest point, from Tilreh (Pelusium) to Suez. So a railway was made from Cairo to Suez; and Lieutenant Waghorn (who had recommended the canal to Mohammed Ali, to whom he alleged that the levels of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean were nearly identical), was busy completing his scheme for an overland route, while the young Ferdinand de Lesseps was a subordinate in the French consulate at Cairo. For four-and-twenty years de Lesseps cherished a fixed idea that the canal uniting the two seas might, could, and should be made; and having studied the estimates of the sea levels, and given much of his spare time to the subject, he had an opportunity when he was again in Egypt, in 1854, of laying his plan before Said Pasha. In the following year another international commission was appointed, and advised, that instead of striking the Mediterranean at Pelusium the canal should be carried through Lake Menzaleh, and enter the sea some seventeen miles farther west, where a deeper approach would be found. This and some other modifications were accepted. The final concession for the work was signed by the viceroy in January, 1856, and the opposition of Lord Palmerston, added to the enthusiasm that the work was to be committed to their countryman—stirring up the enthusiasm of the French, de Lesseps was able to float his "Compagnie Universelle du Canal maritime de Suez" in 1858, with a capital of £8,000,000 in £20

shares, on nearly every bourse in Europe. A little more than half the amount was subscribed (mostly in France), and in 1860 Said Pasha took up the remainder for £3,500,000. In April, 1859, the work was begun, though the consent of the Porte was not obtained till 1866; but the labour was tremendous, and by the end of 1862 only a narrow channel had been made from the Mediterranean to Lake Timsah—about half-way across. The fresh-water canal which was to complete the fresh-water communication between Cairo and Suez was carried to the same point.

Thus, early in the enterprise it became pretty evident that Egypt had been brought into a bad bargain. To begin with, Said Pasha had engaged to furnish by *corvée*, or the system of forced labour, four-fifths of the workmen required, to whom the company agreed to pay about two-thirds the price of such labour in Europe (a rather vague arrangement if the difference between English navvies and French or English agricultural labourers is considered), together with rations and shelter. This meant that every month 20,000 fellahs were to be drafted from their homes and their own agriculture; and when the impolicy of such an arrangement was shown to Ismail Pasha he (in 1864) refused to continue it. At the same time the political mistake made by Said in ceding to a foreign company the sole possession of the fresh-water canal, and a broad belt of land along the whole of the maritime ship canal was pointed out, and the khedive determined that the grant must be rescinded. It happened that Napoleon III. was desirous of keeping on fair and friendly terms with England, which was the power most interested in the claims of the Suez Canal Company being restricted to reasonable commercial limits, instead of being inflated into what might eventually become national or political demands; and it happened also that the enterprise needed funds—a large sum in hard cash or its equivalent—so that when the various points were submitted to Napoleon III. himself for arbitration, he met the case by giving the company an enormous indemnity of £1,520,000 for the removal of the enforced labour, £1,200,000 for the land along the canal bank, except 200 metres on each bank which was retained, and £640,000 for the fresh-

water canal from Ras-el-Wady to Suez—£3,360,000 in all. Payment was to be by sixteen instalments of 12 per cent Treasury bonds, falling due between 1864 and 1879; but by a subsequent convention the term of payment was shortened by ten years, and the whole sum was paid by 1869. In addition to this sum, was an amount in cash of £400,000 for the repurchase of the Wady domain which the company had bought of Said Pasha five years before for £74,000.

By the time the work was completed, what with debenture loans issued at 60 per cent and redeemable at par in fifty years by lottery drawings; the surrender of remaining rights and privileges; and the sale of establishments on the Isthmus, the quarry and harbour at Mex, near Alexandria, and the workshops at Damilha and Boulak for £1,200,000, which the Egyptian government paid for by raising a loan on the coupons of its shares for twenty-five years (till 1894)—the net capital of the company had increased from eight millions to a little less than seventeen millions, and additional payments had swelled it to something like nineteen millions, about the total cost of the work including interest during its construction. This large total, however, represents only about £12,000,000 of net money, while the actual cost of the canal was about £17,518,729—the difference of nearly £6,000,000 having been chiefly represented by indemnities paid by the Egyptian government and forming no charge upon revenue.

The actual interest and sinking fund annuities amounted to £818,400, to be reduced as the loans were redeemed.

The total cost of the enterprise to the Egyptian government, including purchase money for the original shares, the cost of some small works, and of the missions to Europe, litigation, and the superb fêtes to celebrate the opening of the canal in November, 1869, was £10,764,720, while the interest added to the various sums from their respective dates to September, 1873, amounted to £6,663,105, making a total of £17,427,825, or very nearly the amount of the entire cost.[1]

Of course the khedive Ismail achieved vast improvements, and

[1] *Egypt as It Is*, J. C. M'Coan.

established an enormous number of useful public works in a very short time. It was the attempt to multiply works of national importance, and to convert Cairo into a kind of oriental Paris without counting the cost, combined with the corruptions of the government, which led to the bankruptcy of Egypt and the dethronement of the khedive. The Suez Canal can scarcely be counted among the unprofitable enterprises, especially as a large part of the money was regained by the purchase of the Egyptian shares by the British government, for it has secured to Egypt the national importance that must belong to a country through which the traffic passes between Europe and the great empire of the East. The fine harbour of Alexandria and the harbour of Suez also were great and necessary works. Some of the lighthouses were useful, and the schemes for railway communication in Egypt proper were so energetically carried out, that in 1879 there were 1000 miles of railway as against 245 at the accession of Ismail Pasha in 1863; while the immense network of canals in the Delta, used for storing and distributing the surplus water of the inundation, is one of the most remarkable features in the country. The railway system in the Delta is very complete, and an alternative route (on the left bank of the Nile), between Cairo and Alexandria, was carried into Upper Egypt and the Fayoum. A railway also was constructed (as a continuation of a branch of the old desert line between Cairo and Suez) for 98 miles along the fresh-water canal to Ismailia, and thence nearly due south by the side of the same channel and the maritime canal to Suez. As the earthworks on these lines were all formed by forced labour the cost was reduced, but the capital had to be borrowed at 12 per cent interest. Of the projected and abandoned railway in the Soudan we have already seen the account, as given in the story of Gordon's efforts to reduce the expenditure there.

Of the wonderful canal system which fertilizes the cultivable country we shall have to note some particulars hereafter. At the harbour of Alexandria the improvements made by the khedive were of the utmost importance. The modern harbour itself lies within the upper curve of a bay formed by the two projecting

headlands of Ras-el-Teen on the north-east, and Cape Adjemi and Marabout Island on the south-west, and measuring six miles in length by an average of two in width. It is landlocked on every side except on the south-west, from which quarter, however, the prevailing wind comes during eight or nine months in the year. It had always been a serious drawback that the "sea," which was thus caused, was a great obstacle to the loading or discharging of vessels in the roadstead by means of stone lighters, which was the plan employed, and the khedive was most anxious to remedy it, especially when the Suez Canal was likely to compete with the ordinary ports and routes of commercial transit. In 1870 he had determined to commence the work, and contracted with Messrs. Greenfield & Co., a large English firm, for constructing a great breakwater, an inner harbour mole, and a line of quays which should provide the necessary shelter and accommodation for the increasing trade of the port. The work began in 1871, and, briefly stated, the ultimate plan was the formation of an outer breakwater commencing at a point 50 metres south-west of the Ras-el-Teen lighthouse, extending nearly 1000 metres in that direction and then curving to S.S.W., running in a straight line 2350 metres further, or in all for above two miles across the mouth of the harbour, inclosing an area of more than 1400 acres of still water, deep enough for vessels of the largest class. The principal entrance to the port is therefore round the south-western end of the breakwater, which is 1500 metres from the shore; and the narrow passage of Ras-el-Teen gives ingress and egress only to small craft and shore boats. The outer sea wall is constructed of vast blocks of concrete, formed at the neighbouring quarries of Mex of sand and lime, and flung down on the sea side with an inner front of rubble. The upper portion of the wall is of solid masonry with a uniform surface twenty feet wide, and rises ten feet above the lowest and seven above the highest sea level. About 2500 concrete blocks, weighing 20 tons each, and 130,000 tons of large and small rubble stones were sunk in the foundations. Toward the shore a broad mole stretches out 900 metres from the mouth of the Mahmoudieh Canal and the harbour terminus of the

Cairo railway; a line of quays 1240 metres long, extending from the same point along the Marina to a point near the admiralty dock, complete this great work. The quays constructed in the same manner as the inner mole, and with abutting iron jetties, alongside which ships could load or discharge in all weathers, and a branch railway connecting the mole and quays with the Alexandria and Cairo line, and so with the whole railway system of the interior, may be said to have been the final provision, the full benefit of which was to have been secured by the line to Khartûm, by which it was expected to bring the merchandise of the Soudan to the Mediterranean. The total cost of the harbour works was £2,000,000; and the walls at Suez harbour, which were only second in importance to those at Alexandria, and were continued and extended during successive years, cost a total of above £1,500,000.

We may for a minute see from what sources the taxes were derived, which, after reducing the fellaheen to a misery little short of that which they suffered under the rule of Mohammed Ali, were totally insufficient to discharge the continually augmenting debts incurred by the khedive. There is no need to enter into details of such items of indirect revenue as railway profits, customs, dues, &c., and we will only mention the land-taxes and tax on date-trees, stopping for a moment, however, to note that in many cases, such as customs supervision, and taxes on trades and professions, the Europeans residing in Egypt were exempt from the imposts laid upon the natives. Foreign ships, even the fishing-boats and shore boats owned by Greeks and Maltese, were free from the search of the custom-house officers, who could only overhaul the cargo when it was landed. This gave the opportunity for extensive smuggling. Foreigners were also allowed to grow tobacco without being called upon to pay the special taxes levied on native farmers, and to follow freely trades on which special taxes were laid if they were pursued by natives. This distinction arose from the conditions of what were called the "capitulations," or the series of obligations imposed on the Turkish government at successive periods for the protection of subjects of the Christian

powers. These concessions, which began in the time of Mahmoud II., increased till they included the right of trading freely throughout the empire with only such customs duties as might be fixed by treaty; the exemption from all arbitrary taxation; the inviolability of domicile, so that the house of a foreigner could not by law be forcibly entered without the knowledge and concurrence of the consul representing his nationality; the settlement by their own consuls of commercial disputes between themselves; and the right of the protection of their own consuls or their representatives at either civil or criminal trials to which they might be parties before the native tribunals.

All these provisions of the Porte extended to foreigners in Egypt, which was under the government of the sultan; and it may readily be supposed to what lengths the exemptions were carried during the extensive employment of foreigners in the service of the ruling pashas, and to what exasperation the distinctions gave rise among people who were themselves oppressed almost out of existence, while the foreigners living in their country were allowed to go easily, and were entitled to protection or redress by appealing to their own consuls, who so far held the administration of justice in their hands. The abolition of the loose administration by the petty consular tribunals (of which about seventeen were in Cairo, representing various nationalities), and the institution of the mixed or international courts, led to the abolition of much injustice, especially as regarded trials for debt. But these courts are of comparatively recent introduction, and did not remove the exemptions of foreigners from special taxation, though they have united the native and consular authorities in the trial of foreigners and the prosecution of claims against foreign criminals and debtors.

The land-tax, applicable to a total area of land under cultivation amounting to about 5,000,000 feddāns,[1] varied in its incidence. In 1877 by far the greater proportion of the land, about 3,600,000 feddāns, paid a rent charge averaging about twenty-two shillings a feddān, and the remaining portion was held under a privileged tenure represented by a kind of quit-rent of about seven shillings a

[1] A feddān is about equal to an English acre.

feddān. The revenue from both those taxes in 1876 amounted to about £4,300,000.

The Egyptian code published in 1875, and compiled for the use of the international courts which then came into existence, divides real property into four categories: houses and lands ("*Mulk*"), over which private individuals may have complete rights of property; property held in mortmain by religious houses; and the *Kharaji*, in which almost the entire soil of the country must be comprised, and thus described, "Les biens *haradjis* ou tributaires sont ceux qui appartiennent à l'état en dont il a cédé, dans les conditions et dans les cas prévus par les reglements l'usufruit aux particuliers." The fourth division are the *Moubah* or untilled lands, to which anyone may acquire a free prescriptive right by occupation and cultivation, whereupon, however, they become practically included in the *Kharaji*. Of the "*Moukabala*" (or compensation) and "village annuities" most of us have heard or read when endeavouring to unravel the mysteries of Egyptian revenue. The former was introduced in 1871 to redeem half the land-tax for the purpose of paying off the floating debt without having recourse to a foreign loan. The majority of Egyptian landowners had no legally regular title-deeds, and in return for their paying six years' land-tax in advance, either in one payment or six yearly instalments, the government agreed to give them regular titles, and afterwards to reduce the tax to one-half. The attempt to carry out the proposal was a failure. The poorer landowners could not pay in advance, though they may have strained every nerve to save, beg, or borrow money. About £8,000,000 was realized, and £27,825,000 had been the estimated amount. Then came a muddling attempt at compromise, which broke down also, and left the Egyptian treasury saddled with a promise to pay £2,500,000 a year of its most easily collected revenue. This attempt lasted till May, 1876, when the council of the government, under the pressure of some French financiers who held the larger proportion of its treasury bonds, unified its entire debt on terms which professed to provide for its redemption in sixty-five years. This involved the abolition of the Moukabala

and the consequent confusion and dismay of the unfortunate proprietors who had paid up; but the scheme fell through because of the refusal of England to accept it; so the Moukabala was restored, the contributary landholders were to be recouped, and Mr. Goschen for England and M. Joubert for France brought in a project, part of which was, that no interest or bonus should be paid on advances, but that the whole of the reduction of the tax should come at once into force in 1876.

The "village annuities" were instituted in 1870, when the reduction on the price of cotton as a reaction from the rise caused by the American war, prevented the Egyptian growers from repaying the advances they had received from merchants and money-lenders during the inflation of the market. The government took up the debt of about £1,000,000, and issued village bonds, spread over seven years and bearing interest. The period was afterwards extended to twelve years, so that the annuities would expire in 1885, the treasury being repaid by the original debtors at the rate of £160,000 a year.

But apart from the land in occupation by holders and agriculturists, there were the Dïaras or "administrations," the "domains" of the khedival family, which included manufactories, mills, and various important enterprises, as well as cultivated land of enormous value, but as deeply involved in debt as the possessions of the state government. Ismail Pasha had followed the example of his predecessors, and had secured the possession of land for himself and his family. Of course the manner in which the right and title to these vast estates was acquired could not be strictly investigated; but he and his family laid claim to about a million of acres of the best land in Egypt. The finances, which means, of course, the debts of these vast estates, however, had been so mixed up with those of the state, that there was some difficulty in disentangling them, and it was not till the end of 1876 when the settlement of the state debt was being arranged, that the two administrations were separated. The amount of taxation then was about 25*s.* per head of the population, an oppressive burden to the wretched fellaheen, and the exemption of foreigners from certain imposts con-

tinued, much to the dissatisfaction of the less patient of the Egyptian population at Cairo and elsewhere.

Sir W. Gregory in a book upon Egypt says:

"I will venture to say that ninety out of every hundred of my countrymen are not aware of the injustice under which the Egyptians are labouring—the stately palaces, built by Europeans and by those who have obtained European nationality, in many instances by very questionable means, are untaxed; the humble dwelling of the Egyptian, by the side of these mansions, is taxed at the rate of 12 per cent on the valuation. But this is done through the capitulations with Turkey, it will be said—that is true enough; but it is perfectly easy for England to take the lead, and to let the Egyptians know we are taking the lead, in endeavouring to relax, under proper safeguards, this portion of the capitulations. Again, let a Maltese, or a Greek, or an Italian, practise a trade, or mount the box of a hackney-coach as driver, he is exempt from the tax on professions as being under European protection; but an Egyptian, striving to earn his bread in a similar manner, is taxed in doing so."

It may be imagined what were the sentiments of the deluded landholders, who had been induced to part with the instalments for which it was now doubtful whether they would really obtain any advantage. "Egypt for the Egyptians" began to acquire a new significance, and there were already symptoms of coming aggression. In 1878, amidst the tumult of the Russo-Turkish war, the affairs of Egypt again came to a crisis, in which it became apparent that the scheme prepared by the Right Hon. J. G. Goschen and M. Joubert had not satisfactorily solved the difficulties of finance, though it had been well understood that Mr. Goschen and the financial firm of Fruhlings & Goschen, to which he had formerly belonged, had considerable experience in Egyptian affairs, and had been mainly interested in some of the earlier loans.

The conclusion that was come to was that an entirely new effort should be made, and, therefore, a committee of inquiry was appointed, in which Mr. Rivers Wilson, who had formerly held an important office in the English treasury, took the principal part.

By the month of August a very full and detailed report of the result of the labours of this committee was ready to be presented to the khedive.

A summary of this report, afterwards published, revealed not only the financial imbroglio but extraordinary instances of fiscal oppression. No tax in Egypt was regulated by law. The superior authority asked, the inferior authority demanded, and the lower authority took just what the treasury ordered, and there was no appeal. New taxes were imposed at discretion, and were occasionally quite absurd. For example, when a bridge was built the charge for it was imposed on the boatmen whose boats were impeded by the bridge, not on the passengers whose journey was facilitated. All who did not own lands paid the tax on professions, because, not being land-owners, they might take to professions if they liked. Egyptians were not allowed to own scales, because they might evade the weighing tax; while the salt tax was levied according to population, which was never counted, but fixed by an order which was never varied. The conscription was forced on anybody who could not bribe the sheikh, the regulation price for exemption being £80, which an Egyptian peasant could no more raise than an English labourer could. "These taxes are all levied by *moral pressure*," said the inspector-general; and the commission found out that "moral pressure" meant the *threat of torture*. Another curious fact they discovered. In 1874 the viceroy had invited the natives to subscribe to a new reimbursable loan (*Rouynameh*), of £5,000,000, the subscribers to receive a perpetual annuity of 9 per cent on their capital. The amount subscribed was £3,420,000. One coupon was paid, and that only to some of the subscribers.

It soon became evident to the khedive that he must surrender to those who were conducting the inquiries; and the committee announced that it had accepted an offer of Prince Mohammed Tewfik, the hereditary prince, made on the advice of Nubar Pasha, to cede to the committee all his estates, the annual rental of which amounted to £30,000. Princess Fatma and Prince Hassein Hamil Pasha, the daughter and the second son of the khedive, had made known their intention to join in the family sacrifice; and

following these examples, the mother of the khedive had also relinquished her estates, worth about £20,000 a year.

The presentation of the report was almost immediately followed by an announcement that the khedive himself would give up all his private estates to the financial commission so as to reserve nothing from the public revenues of Egypt, would accept absolutely the European system of constitutional government, and make Nubar Pasha, a man of high ability, the head of the administration; while Mr. Rivers Wilson, with the assent of the British government, was to be minister of finance. Nothing could have been apparently more straightforward than the declarations of the khedive. "Rest assured," he said, "that I am seriously resolved. My country is no longer African. We form a part of Europe. It is proper, therefore, to abandon our old ways and to adopt a new system more in accordance with our social progress. Above all, we must not be satisfied with mere words, and for my own part I am determined to prove my intentions by my deeds; and to show how thoroughly earnest I am, I have intrusted Nubar Pasha with the formation of a ministry. . . . I am firmly determined to apply European principles to the Egyptian administration, instead of the personal power hitherto prevailing. I desire a power balanced by the council of ministers, and am resolved henceforth to govern with and through this council, the members of which will be jointly and severally responsible. The council will discuss all important questions, the majority deciding. Thus by approving its decisions I shall sanction the prevalent opinion. Each minister will apply the decisions of the council in his own department. Every appointment or dismissal of higher officials will be made by the president of the council and the minister of the department with my sanction. The officials will only obey the chiefs of their own departments."

Here was the promise of a change which would have had the most important consequences, and was hailed with the greatest satisfaction in western Europe; but again the jealousy and restless vanity of a political party in France would not allow the opportunity to be secured for effecting a genuine reform in Egypt. The

acquisition of Cyprus by the British government had aroused their anger, and they were constantly opposing what they represented to be the preponderance of English influence in Egypt. Eventually the attitude of the French government led to a compromise which was afterwards found to be incompetent to secure the successful adoption of the proposed administrative reform. A French minister of public works, M. de Bligniéres, was chosen as Mr. Wilson's colleague, with control over all railways, canals, and ports (except Alexandria), and with substantial influence in the cabinet; and two commissioners of the public debt, an Englishman and a Frenchman, were appointed, the governments pledging themselves to maintain them in power. The khedive also pledged himself that if he dismissed either the French or English members of his government he would dismiss both.

It was not very long before this proviso at least was claimed. After the concession of the khedive, which almost amounted to a complete surrender, it was supposed that the influence of the French and English ministers would so guide Egyptian counsels that even the involved finances of the country might be eventually put straight; but the too obvious domination of the European representatives in combination with the prime minister, Nubar Pasha, who had been restored to power, and the sudden dismissal of a number of Egyptian officers in the army and the civil service, was the occasion of demonstrations which ended in a serious riot.

CHAPTER III.

High-handed Proceedings. Demands of the Khedive. Military Riots in Cairo. Resignation of Nubar Pasha. The French and English Ministers restored to Power. Their Summary Dismissal. "The National Party." Protest of Germany and other Great Powers. Deposition of Ismail Pasha. Accession of Tewfik. The "Control." Military Riots. Tewfik a Cipher. Arabi Bey. Military Dictatorship. Outrages in Alexandria. The Allied Squadrons. French Defection. England Alone. The Bombardment of Alexandria.

Those who hoped that Ismail would be converted into a constitutional ruler were doomed to be disappointed; nor was it reasonable to expect that, with Nubar Pasha, Mr. Rivers Wilson, and M. de Bligniéres as the actual government, he would continue to be satisfied with the shadow of authority, especially as he had by a single act of concession given up not only his autocratic power but his property; for he also had relinquished his "domain" or landed estate. It was believed that if he had been conciliated and treated with the respect due to his position he might have been "managed;" but Nubar Pasha, who had been reinstated as prime minister on the strong representations of the European ministers, was determined to reduce the khedive to a merely nominal place in the government of the country, and the English minister of finance, Mr. Rivers Wilson, was much of the same mind. The result was that the khedive was in active opposition to the government which had been forced upon him. It was discovered that he encouraged the disaffection of the officials and pashas whose authority and privileges were suppressed or threatened by the new ministry, who had disregarded the demands of a large number of officers of the army discharged without settlement of their long-standing arrears of pay. The khedive had demanded on his own behalf that he should have more practical authority in the cabinet council, should have a right to summon it and to propose measures to it, that all measures should be submitted to him before being laid before it, and that he should preside at all its deliberations.

On the 18th of February, 1879, a riotous demonstration was made at Cairo by 400 of the discharged military officers. They

assembled in front of the ministry of finance and insulted Nubar Pasha and Mr. Rivers Wilson. The khedive drove to the spot and addressed the rioters to induce them to disperse, but either they knew that he was only trying to save appearances or they were too much excited to obey him. On the following day Nubar Pasha, who believed that the demonstration had been countenanced by the khedive, resigned his office, and the two European ministers also tendered their resignations. They would have insisted on the reinstatement of Nubar Pasha and appealed to their respective governments, but Mr. Vivian, the English consul-general, advised the English government against forcing the khedive to re-establish the authority of a minister with whom he could not sustain friendly relations, and eventually the diplomatic representatives of England and France were directed to inform Ismail that the restoration of the minister would not be insisted on if it was agreed that the khedive should not in any case be present at cabinet councils, that his son, Prince Tewfik, should be appointed president of the council, and that the English and French ministers should have an absolute right of veto over any proposed measure. As the proposal was conveyed more in the form of a menace of the consequences of refusal than as a conciliatory measure, the khedive formally accepted it, and the cabinet of Lord Beaconsfield in concert with the French government took the responsibility of ruling the internal affairs of Egypt. This high-handed policy was the outcome of the employment of European government officials not only to inquire into, but to interfere in, the financial affairs of the country; and yet it may be contended that it would have been impossible to unravel the skein of Egyptian accounts without such representations on behalf of European creditors as would amount to a dictatorial representation of the consequences of refusing to admit the authority of the commissioners. The actual interposition may be said to have begun with the mission of Mr. Cave, whose long and careful inquiry and report in 1876 showed that the unified debt of Egypt should be estimated at £91,000,000, which had been incurred in twelve years by a country whose annual revenue during that period had not averaged £8,000,000.

From that time the reliance of the khedive on English support, and his desire to employ English officials, had diminished, and yet he was now a mere cipher, and as the constant jealousy of France had made it necessary to accept her co-operation on every occasion, Egypt was now under the control of the two governments, much to the dissatisfaction of the other powers. The position was complicated by disputes and disagreements between the foreign ministers themselves, and it soon became evident that a crisis was coming. There were many difficulties to contend with, and the ministers, though they had prepared the way for some important reforms, had achieved little except contracting for a loan with Messrs. Rothschild for £8,500,000 (nominal) at seven per cent on the security of 4,350,000 acres of land which the khedive had surrendered for the purpose of paying off the floating debt of £6,276,000. By the omission to effect legal mortgages on the ceded estates, other judgment creditors were able to forestall the holders of the floating debt, and there was a great deal of loss and trouble in consequence.

A new cabinet, with Prince Tewfik as president and the two European ministers still in office, was formed by the khedive in March, 1879, but a second report of the commission of inquiry was presented, with a plan for the provisional regulation of the finances. For this Mr. Rivers Wilson held himself responsible, and though it was first presented confidentially to the khedive, it transpired that the English minister had represented Egypt to be in a state of bankruptcy. This aroused enough public indignation to enable the khedive to act upon his original privilege, and on the 7th of April he abruptly dismissed the ministry and formed a native council responsible to the obsolete chamber of notables, which seems to have been revived for the occasion, as it had been at other times when Ismail wanted to have his own way.

He then brought forward a financial project of his own, which was supported by the "national party," consisting chiefly of the officials and land-owners whose extravagance, oppression, and robbery had been exposed by the commission. The new proposals would have restored the system by which they profited. This

national project was embodied in a decree after nearly every European official of high rank had resigned, and an old friend and supporter of the khedive—a Turk named Cherif Pasha—was made president. The English government strongly remonstrated with the khedive, and warned him that he had broken his special engagements, but no action was taken, and things went on till May, when the German government instructed its consul-general to declare that the decree could not be held to have any legal force, as, by the arbitrary settlement of the Egyptian debt, it involved the abolition of acquired and recognized rights, and as it assailed the competency of the mixed courts and the rights of the subjects of the empire, the viceroy would be held responsible for all the consequences of his illegal conduct. This protest was afterwards repeated by the other five great powers, and the concurrence of the sultan as suzerain was obtained for whatever measures the powers might adopt.

On the 19th of June the two diplomatic representatives of England and France went together to the khedive, and on behalf of their governments advised him to abdicate in favour of his son Tewfik, unless he wished them to appeal to the sultan, in which case he would be deposed without being able to count upon receiving a pension, or upon the maintenance of the succession in favour of his son. Ismail would then have withdrawn his decree and submitted his plan to the approval of the powers, but it was too late, and on the 26th of June the sultan sent his imperial iradé by telegram from Constantinople, deposing Ismail and conferring the government upon his son Tewfik, who on the same day was proclaimed khedive without any protest or disturbance. Egypt was tired of its ruler. On June 30th Ismail Pasha, with his sons Hussein and Hassan, his harem, and a numerous suite, embarked for Naples.

Tewfik began his rule with a character for honesty of purpose, which he deserved, as he had voluntarily given up his possessions and reduced his civil list. He charged Riaz Pasha with the formation of a ministry, and after much consultation the principle of two controllers was restored, and Mr. Baring for England, and

M. de Bligniéres for France, were to have full powers of inquiry, were to receive periodical accounts of the receipts and expenditure from each administration, were to make suggestions to ministers without ("at present") taking part in public business, and were to have a seat and deliberative voice in the cabinet. They were not to be removed without the consent of their governments, and had authority to appoint or dismiss subordinate officials.

The interference of our government in the internal affairs of Egypt was regarded with dislike by some foreign powers, especially by Italy, and had not given general satisfaction in parliament, nor could the high-handed assumptions of the British representatives be altogether defended. The explanations which were given when the subject was brought before the House at the end of the session of 1879 were by no means conclusive; but the interposition had now another aspect, and it was thought desirable to wait to see what would be the effect of the new arrangement.

In April, 1880, a Liberal government under Mr. Gladstone succeeded that of Mr. Disraeli; but the arrangements made under the control, of course, continued, and though there were many difficulties and disagreements because of the rivalries of officials, the current of affairs in Egypt was comparatively tranquil, and continued so throughout the year. The law of liquidation drawn up on the recommendation of the commissioners of the great powers had been passed, and in February, 1881, the report of the controllers-general stated that it "drew an absolute line of demarcation between the past and the future, settled the conditions in which all public debts, prior to Dec. 31, were to be regulated, fixed the amount and interest of the consolidated debt, appropriated to it certain revenues, and laid down the rules by which the other sources of income were to be distributed between the service of different branches of the administration, and the paying off of the consolidated debt."

There were some genuine attempts at reform, and the year 1881 had opened with the promise of progress. A trustworthy statement of revenue and expenditure showed an income considerably in excess of the estimates of the financial year 1880. Tewfik

was justly credited with a desire to mitigate the burden of the fellaheen, who received him with respect and loyalty when he appeared among them; and he was admired for his honesty of purpose, his unostentatious and domestic manner of living, and his genial kindliness; but the time had not yet come when a firm grasp and a prompt and heavy hand could be dispensed with in dealing with officials, and in suppressing attempts at revolt among the military leaders, whose grievances were, or rather had been, undeniable. Just before Ismail's fall, soldiers had been seen begging in the streets. A portion of the army had been disbanded and left unpaid. Under the new government the soldiers, like other officials, were regularly paid; but their pay was far below that of other public servants, and when, for economical reasons, the regiments were reduced a number of officers were placed on half-pay without being provided with other employment. Under a despotism these alleged grievances could only be removed by the head of the state, who might regard a demand for redress as an act of treason, and punish it by death or the kourbash; but now there was something like a constitutional government, and the ministers, rather than the head of the state, had to bear the responsibility.

The revolts began by ill-feeling between the Circassian and Arab officers, and a quarrel between Ali Bey Fehmy, the Arab colonel of the 1st Regiment of Guards stationed at the palace of Abdin in Cairo, and a Circassian officer, of whose influence he was jealous. Osman Pasha Rifky, minister of war, who was a Circassian, took the part of his countryman; and Ali Bey Fehmy and two other officers in command of regiments in or near Cairo thereupon sent a strongly worded letter to the prime minister, Riaz Pasha, complaining of the favouritism shown to Circassian and Turkish officers. The letter was referred to the minister of war, who on the morning of the 1st of February held a council of war in the barracks at Kasr-el-Nil, and put the three colonels under arrest there. But Ali Bey Fehmy had provided against this contingency, and two battalions of his men marched to the barracks, drove the guards back at the point of the bayonet, broke

open the prison, released their and his friends, and carried him back in triumph to their quarters opposite the palace of Abdin; the members of the military council having precipitately retreated from the windows of the room in which they had met, not without some rough treatment by the mutinous soldiery.

Festivities had been going on at Cairo to celebrate the marriage of some members of the viceregal family, and the khedive and his ministers, who had been hastily summoned, witnessed from the balcony of the palace at Abdin the return of the mutineers. An aide-de-camp sent by the khedive to the rioters while they were at the barracks of Kasr-el-Nil had failed to pacify them, and they now demanded, not only the reinstatement of their colonels, but the dismissal of the minister of war. The colonels had visited Baron de Ring, the French consular agent and consul-general, and Mr. Malet, the English diplomatic agent, to assure them that they intended no hostility to foreigners. Mr. Malet, of course, at once informed the khedive of the interview. Baron de Ring, who had for some time been jealous of his compatriot M. de Bligniéres (whose straightforward impartiality and friendly co-operation with his English colleague did not please the agent), had already been stirring up strife; and after the visit of the colonels he began to carry on secret negotiations with them for overturning the ministry. This was afterwards discovered. The khedive wrote to the president of the French republic, and Baron de Ring was recalled and replaced by M. Sienkiewicz.

When the riotous soldiers demanded, there and then, the dismissal of the minister of war, the khedive took counsel of the consuls-general of England and France; but it was soon discovered that the troops in and near Cairo were not to be depended upon to suppress the mutiny, and there was nothing for it but to yield; the minister of war being replaced by Mahmoud Pasha Samy (previously minister of religious institutions), who was acceptable to the soldiers, and after whose nomination they retired to their barracks, so that by two o'clock in the afternoon order was restored, and half the people in Cairo had not known what had happened.

The danger now lay in the apprehensions of the mutinous officers that they would after all be punished; and the khedive, acting on the advice of the English consul-general Mr. Malet, called together the officers of the garrison, and while deprecating their recent insubordination, and expressing a hope that they would for the future observe the first duty of soldiers and obey the head of the state, assured them of his pardon and his good-will to the army. Perhaps their experience and the traditions of Egyptian government made them incredulous of pardon, and they continued to take means for securing themselves against deferred vengeance by commencing secret communications with all those who were disaffected to the government and dissatisfied with their own position or the political situation in Egypt. The agitation became formidable; but the ministry, though they knew of it, took no steps, or were without the requisite force for opposing it, though they wisely commenced an inquiry into, and the adoption of remedies for, some of the grievances complained of.

On April 20th a decree was issued for raising the pay of all ranks from 20 to 30 per cent, and for the appointment of a commission, of which four foreign general officers in the Egyptian employ—among whom was Major-general Sir Frederick Goldsmid, English administrator of the Daira Sanieh—were members: to inquire into the army regulations, rules for promotion and retirement, the condition of those on half-pay, and other matters. Many meetings of the commission were held, when it became evident that all the non-European members were united, and that the Turkish officers had not, as had been expected, opposed the unreasonable proposals of the military agitators. The head of the party was Arabi Bey, or, to give him his full name, Said Ahmed Arabi, who, it is said, was born in Lower Egypt, and claimed to be one of the fellaheen. Of somewhat imposing presence, tall stature, and considerable eloquence, Arabi was a recognized leader among his fellows even before he was raised by Ismail Pasha from the position of a private soldier to the rank of a commissioned officer. He had entered the army while he was yet a boy, and in 1881 had arrived at middle age. For the greater part of his career, in

which he had repeatedly re-entered the ranks under the short-service system, he had the character of an agitator, always endeavouring, as his friends alleged, to obtain the abolition of abuses; but as this necessarily involved insubordination, he had been cashiered even if he had not suffered the indignity of the kourbash. However, like some other popular agitators, he was able so effectually to assert himself that he was afterwards reinstated, and Tewfik had raised him to the rank of colonel of a regiment. That he had a keen recollection of the punishment he had suffered, and desired to retaliate on those who were, as he believed, instrumental in disgracing him, is more than probable, and he had employed much of his time during his exclusion from the army in thus acquiring some knowledge of science, so that he was regarded by the common soldiers, not only as a champion, but as a person of superior attainments, and had also obtained a reputation for piety. He was, in fact, just the sort of leader to attain to a kind of dictatorship among the troops; and he perhaps represented the temper of the majority of the officers when at a meeting of the military commission he declared that if ordered by the minister of war to take his regiment to the Soudan he would not obey; a statement which was strongly reproved by Sir Frederick Goldsmid, in reply to whom Arabi made some lame excuse.

It soon became evident that the authority of the khedive was insufficient to control either the arbitrary and almost aggressive attitude assumed by his minister Riaz Pasha, or the growing mutiny and arrogant claims of the soldiery. It was not till the end of July, however, that another crisis came, and it was hastened by an accidental event at Alexandria, where an artillery soldier was run over by a carriage and killed. The coachman was arrested, but was discharged without punishment, and some of the comrades of the artilleryman, in opposition to the commands of their officers, showed their dissatisfaction by carrying the body of the dead man through the streets to the palace of Ras-el-Teen, where the khedive was staying, as he was then on his visit to Alexandria. The khedive promised that their case should be considered, but soon afterwards they were brought before a court-martial and heavily



ARABI PASHA.

ACHMET ARABI.

LEADER OF THE MILITARY INSURRECTION IN EGYPT 1882.

BY PERMISSION FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY HERR D. BEHRENDS OF CAIRO.

BLACKIE & SON LONDON, GLASGOW & EDINBURGH

sentenced, the ringleader to hard labour for life, and the others to three years on the galleys at Khartûm. The severity of the sentence aroused and excited the army, and Abdullah Bey, commanding a negro regiment at Toura, and one of the colonels who had been concerned in the mutiny at Cairo, wrote to the minister of war and to the khedive in disrespectful terms. The minister of war, afraid to punish the writer, allowed him to withdraw the letter on his assurance that he had no mutinous intention. At this the khedive was displeased and dismissed the minister, whose place was taken by Daoud Pasha Zigen, the cousin of Tewfik, who began to show more firmness towards the leaders of the agitation. But a strange combination of misunderstandings precipitated matters. The ministry of Riaz Pasha was already weak, and the khedive had already talked of dismissing it, though he had not the resolution to do so. M. de Bligniéres also was openly opposed to them, and there seemed to be confusion in all directions.

On the 3d of September the khedive left Alexandria and returned to Cairo. At this juncture the minister of war ordered the removal to Alexandria of the 4th Regiment of infantry, of which Arabi Bey was colonel. This order, which had in reality been determined on by the former minister of war, was regarded with no little apprehension by the leaders of the military party, who regarded it as preliminary to a *coup d'état*. The acting agent of England had strongly advised that it should not be issued. Mr. Malet was at that time on a mission at Constantinople, and it appeared that the military leaders fancied that he had gone on behalf of England and France to concert an armed intervention against a possible revolt at Cairo.

There was great excitement, and meetings were held where it was decided that a demonstration should be made to intimidate the khedive and compel the resignation of ministers. It was afterwards said that he knew of this intention, but relied on the loyalty of the 1st and 2d Regiments of infantry, and on the cavalry and artillery, to overpower the mutinous regiment of Arabi Bey if necessary.

On the night of Thursday, September 8th, the khedive and his

ministers had returned from the great fair of Santah, whither they had been in state. The French consul-general had not returned from Alexandria, and M. de Bligniéres was away on private business. Mr. Colvin, the English controller-general, had returned from his leave of absence that morning.

At one o'clock on the following afternoon Daoud Pasha, the minister of war, received a letter from Arabi Bey saying that at three o'clock the same afternoon the army would present itself on the square of the palace of Abdin to demand the execution of the political programme which their leaders had agreed upon, namely—the dismissal of Riaz Pasha and all his colleagues, the summoning of the chamber of notables, and the carrying out of the recommendation of the military commission, the most important part of which was the augmentation of the army to 18,000 men.

Arabi had also sent a circular to the different foreign representatives assuring them that there was no design against the lives or property of foreigners. The minister of war took the letter to the khedive, who was at the palace of Ismailia. Ministers were at once summoned, and also Mr. Colvin, the controller, and Mr. Cookson, the English acting agent and consul-general. Mr. Colvin advised the khedive to go in person to the barracks at Abdin, where the 1st Regiment of the Guard, on whom he could rely, was stationed, put himself at their head, march with them to the quarters of the 2d Regiment at the citadel, and so forestall Arabi at the square at Abdin. This advice was accepted, and Mr. Colvin, as an Egyptian official, accompanied the khedive. Everything went well, the troops received the khedive with loyal respect, and if he had marched at once at their head to Abdin, and there awaited the arrival of Arabi Bey from Abassieh, whence he had to bring his regiment, the day might have been his own. But Tewfik wished to avoid a conflict, and so insisted on driving to Abassieh before returning to Abdin, where he told his ministers to wait for him at the palace. He found the barracks empty. Arabi had marched his men off three quarters of an hour before the khedive reached the place, and was in the Abdin square with his troops and eighteen pieces of artillery to blockade the palace,

the subalterns of the artillery having compelled their colonels to follow him. The khedive returned in a hurry to find the square in front of his palace surrounded by 4000 troops, cavalry in the centre, and loaded cannon pointed to his windows. Both his loyal regiments had joined the mutiny. He had to get into his palace the back way. Mr. Colvin urged him to make a personal appeal to the troops, and with that gentleman on his right, and the American General Stone, chief of the staff of the Egyptian army, and three officers of his household, he went down the great staircase of the palace towards the group of colonels, of which Arabi Bey and Abdullah Bey, both on horseback, were the centre.

"Get off your horses," said the khedive; and they obeyed immediately. Mr. Colvin suggested that they should be ordered to give up their swords; but the khedive was not equal to that, he only called upon them to sheathe their swords, and this was repeated twice before they obeyed. The khedive asked what it was that they wanted, and Arabi Bey replied that they came in the name of the people to ask for the liberty and the grant of the three points formulated in the letter sent that morning to the minister of war.

"Have you forgotten that I am the khedive, and your master?" asked Tewfik.

Arabi answered by a verse from the Koran: "The ruler is he who is just; he who is not so is no longer ruler."

The khedive retired under pretext of considering the demands submitted to him. Mr. Cookson, who had just arrived, addressed himself, by desire of the khedive, to Arabi Bey as the spokesman of the army; pointed out the disastrous consequences to themselves and the country of the course they had taken, and asked what were their demands. Arabi Bey repeated, "Dismissal of ministers, convocation of the chambers, and execution of the military commission." He also said that they were there to defend the liberties of Egypt, which England, the opponent of slavery, ought never to crush.

Mr. Cookson returned to the khedive and told him that, in his opinion, if the ministers would consent to resign office, the other

points would not be insisted on. Riaz Pasha at once agreed, and Mr. Cookson then announced this to the officers, making the concession conditional on the troops being at once withdrawn, and adding that he could not recommend his highness to accede to the other two demands without reference to Constantinople. Arabi Bey assented, and the khedive was to choose his own ministry; but some of the officers clamoured for Sherif Pasha, and the khedive, on being told of this, accepted their selection.

A letter from the khedive was handed to Arabi Pasha, who read it aloud amidst shouts of "Long live the khedive!" and the troops were ready to vacate the square, when Arabi and his colleagues asked that they might be received by the khedive to present their excuses and receive his pardon. This ceremony was gone through, and at half-past seven o'clock the troops were all marched off to the barracks.

All this time the country was quiet enough. It soon became evident that the champions of liberty were intent almost entirely on their own advantage, and that the riot was purely military; but there was reason for great anxiety. The country was for a time without a ministry; the khedive was in the power of the army. Neither England nor France would interpose, and an appeal to the Porte for 10,000 soldiers to put down the military revolt elicited nothing but the evidence, which was more distinctly displayed afterwards, that the sultan would only give his aid on the condition of revoking the concessions that had been made to Ismail Pasha, and reducing Egypt to a political position which would not be acceptable either to its ruler or to the two great European powers on whom he depended.

For some time it appeared as though Sherif Pasha would not be able to induce Arabi and his co-mutineers to consent to such terms as would alone enable him or any statesman to accept office in such a crisis. Fortunately, the determination of the colonels to summon the notables from the provinces to make a demonstration in their favour solved the difficulty. When these persons arrived they supported Sherif Pasha, for they had a direct interest in preventing the arrest of regular government, and cared

more for peace and quiet than for questions of liberty, which were found to be for the benefit of military officers. Their attitude reminded Arabi and his party that it would be safer to come to some settlement before their conduct brought intervention either from Constantinople or from Europe, and at last it was agreed that the officers should quit Cairo, leaving to Sherif Pasha to choose his own cabinet, and to decide the right time for granting constitutional liberties to the country. On the other hand it was conceded that Mahmoud Pasha Samy should be restored to the position of minister of war.

The engagements entered into were for a short time loyally carried out. On Sept. 22 the khedive signed decrees regulating the leave, the retirement, the pay, and the promotion in the army, on the lines put forward by the military commission.

On the 4th of October appeared a decree for the opening of the chamber of delegates; the interval of three months before the meeting of the chamber, would be employed by ministers in preparing for its consideration bills relating to pressing questions, especially those of the mode of appeal against taxation, of forced labour, and of provincial councils. On the 6th of October Arabi Bey and Abdullah Bey withdrew with their regiments from Cairo, the one to Wady and the other to Damietta.

The excitement had now, however, gone through the country, and was maintained by all those who were opposed to foreign control, mainly because it had deprived them of posts in which, however small the official salaries, there had been great opportunities for peculation. There may, there must, have been some to whom the interposition and the control exercised by foreigners in the internal and financial affairs of Egypt was a deep grievance, apart from any merely personal considerations,—but the greater number who now joined in the disaffection, instigated by the military leaders, were either fanatics, who detested alike the foreigner and the progress which he represented, or creatures who had found in the older governments opportunities for enriching themselves by fraud, cruelty and oppression. The "national party" seemed to revive, and the violent and unscrupulous articles

which appeared in the local newspapers, and were said to be inspired by Arabi Bey and his companions, tended to inflame the hatred of all who were disaffected, and led to the adoption by Riaz Pasha of a stringent press law, which gave the minister of the interior absolute power to suppress, without judicial process, any printing-office or newspaper.

Of course these disturbances seriously injured the commercial relations of the country during the year 1881, but that year closed fairly, the khedive, who opened the first session of the new parliament on the 25th of December, stating that it had always been his desire to summon the chamber of delegates, and expressing his conviction that wisdom and moderation would reign in its deliberations, and that it would respect all international engagements.

The apparently conciliatory arrangements did not have any lasting effect. Scarcely had the chamber of delegates, summoned by the ministry of Sherif Pasha, assembled when it became evident not only that Arabi Pasha would not abate his pretensions, but that the minister himself was inclined to propitiate him, or at least to recognize the possibility of his claim to represent a national movement. In the first week of the new year, only a few days after the supposed settlement of the immediate demands of the military party, he had returned suddenly from Wady, and was actually appointed under-secretary of war. Such a sop was not likely to appease his appetite for power. A manifesto appeared in the *Times* professing to be a statement of his declarations, and though it was not regarded as authentic, events proved that it represented his views. It insisted that for the time the army represented the people and was trusted by them, that Egypt was sick of the European control and of its highly paid and often incompetent officials, and that Europeans should be replaced by Egyptians even if it should be found expedient to carry out the financial policy which the control had inaugurated. The British and French governments, representing the expressed opinions of Europe, addressed to the khedive an identical note stating their intention to "ward off by their united efforts all causes of external or internal complications which might menace the *régime* established

in Egypt," or in other words to maintain the joint control for the good of Egypt, the peace of Europe, and the benefit of the bondholders. The chamber of notables, however, claimed the right of regulating the national budget, and, in spite of the demur of the controllers, found that their pretensions were supported by the sultan, who, claiming Egypt as a part of his possessions, resented the interference of the European powers in her internal affairs. Sherif Pasha could not obtain a compromise. He had consented to give Arabi Pasha an office in the government, and he now offered to increase the numbers and pay of the army; but the notables were having their turn, and insisted on the abrogation of the arrangement of 1879, by which the Anglo-French control had been constituted. All he could do was to resign, and the khedive, shrinking from the responsibility of forming a new ministry, left it to the chamber to choose their own. After some difficulty an administration was selected with Mahmoud Pasha Samy as nominal president. Ali Sadek Pasha was made minister of finance, and Arabi Bey became war minister. It had been intended that Ismail Ayoub Pasha should take the ministry of finance; but he refused office, alleging that the controllers had threatened to quit the country accompanied by the consuls if such a ministry was formed. Arabi retorted that if that were so there was nothing to be done but to prepare for immediate defence. The ministry *was* formed, however, and the president of the council tried to face two ways, assuring Sir Edward Malet, the English controller, that the government would observe all national obligations, and representing to the notables that measures would be adopted that would subject ministerial responsibility to the vote of the majority.

M. Gambetta, who was then president of the French republic, urged upon Lord Granville, the British minister for foreign affairs, to take immediate measures for intervention to prevent anarchy, amidst which not only Egypt but all European interests would suffer. The English foreign office had favoured the introduction into Egypt of such representative institutions as might promote a better government and prevent a return to the arbitrary power exercised by Ismail; but it was impossible for them to admit that

a military revolt should initiate the rule of the chief mutineer, and under the name of popular representation place the khedive and the country under a despotism which recognized no external responsibilities.

At the same time our government was reluctant to intervene by force of arms to suppress what professed to be a national movement, nor had M. Gambetta actually proposed to support the khedive by material force. The question was what kind of intervention would be effectual in case of Egypt falling into anarchy. The English government had a strong objection to the occupation of Egypt by themselves, as it would create opposition in both Turkey and Egypt, and excite the suspicion and jealousy of the European powers, who might make demonstrations on their own part which would lead to very serious complications. Such an occupation would also be as distasteful to the French nation as the sole occupation of Egypt by the French would be to this country. They also considered that a joint occupation by France and England, while it might diminish some of the objections referred to, would seriously aggravate others. On the whole they believed that a Turkish temporary occupation, under proper guarantees and with the control of England, and France, would be the least objectionable, and in this view the other great powers for the most part concurred. As the new government of Egypt had declared its intention to maintain international obligations, neither France nor England considered that a case for intervention had arisen; but Lord Granville represented that should the case arise they would wish that any such eventual intervention should represent the united action and authority of Europe. In that event it would also, in their opinion, be right that the sultan should be a party to any proceeding or discussion that might arise.

But Arabi was master of the situation, and it was believed, on pretty good evidence, that he had reason to count on support from Constantinople. Under his direction the council discussed measures transferring to ministers the authority to settle the budget without reference to the controllers, who thereupon protested to their respective governments and to the khedive, who received from

those governments a joint note, and about the same time a conciliatory Anglo-French note was addressed to the Porte assuring the sultan that his sovereignty over Egypt would not be questioned or limited. On the 12th of March M. de Bligniéres resigned his post, but nothing more was done immediately, as M. Gambetta had been succeeded by M. de Freycinet, whose policy was one of inaction, for he objected or appeared to object, under any circumstances, to intervention either by France and England united, or by the Porte, under conditions which gave those two governments control in the interests of Europe.

On the 15th of March it seemed that a temporary understanding, or rather a truce, had been come to between the khedive and Arabi, who was made a pasha, while seventeen of the officers who had supported him were promoted to be colonels. The denunciation of European officials was revived, and the khedive was compelled to receive deputations professing to represent the general discontent of the country on this subject.

It is worth noting that a return made by Mr. Cookson showed that, in 1882, as many as 1324 employés of various European nationalities held appointments, and received £373,704 per annum. The foreign office, therefore, thought it advisable to go more fully into statistics, which showed that the foreigners in the Egyptian service were as two to ninety-eight natives, and that the salaries paid to European officials did not amount to sixteen per cent of the total cost of administration.[1]

Meanwhile, Arabi was assuming a dictatorship, though not without a sharp contest with the khedive, who was, however, becoming helpless.

In April a plot was discovered in which a number of Circassian officers were implicated. In the promotions which had taken place the Circassians, who had previously held a conspicuous place in the army, had been passed over in favour of Arab officers. There were about forty of the Circassian officers, the chief of whom was Osman Riftei, the former minister of war, who had, it was declared, laid a plot for getting rid of both Arabi and Tew-

[1] *Annual Register*, 1882.

fik, and reinstating Ismail. It was reported also that they intended to dispose of Arabi on the old plan of murdering him. The conspiracy was discovered, or rather betrayed: thirty-one Circassian officers were arrested, thrown into prison, and tried by a secret court-martial. Arabi suspected that Sherif Pasha had instigated the plot, and endeavoured to ensure a tragic and striking punishment of the ringleaders as a warning against foreign demands. The court took a different view regarding the conspiracy, as having been instigated by Ismail Pasha and his agent, Rahib Pasha. Tewfik was therefore advised to discontinue the payment of the civil list of the ex-khedive, and to degrade and banish the Circassian officers. Sir Edward Malet strongly advised the khedive to refuse his warrant to these sentences, as the trial had been a secret one, and after considerable delay Tewfik took this advice and commuted the sentences, and only placed the accused officers on half-pay. A violent remonstrance was the result, during which the president of the council spoke in slighting terms of the foreign representatives, and implied that if the sentences on these Circassians were not more severe there would be a general massacre of foreigners. These words were afterwards denied, but the chamber was convoked without notice being given to the khedive, who was treated with the utmost contempt, though the foreign consuls were informed that the safety of Europeans would be guaranteed.

The latter assurance, however, was stimulated by the intimation that France and England had ordered two iron-clads to Alexandria, and the Egyptian ministry, waking up to the awkwardness of the situation, added that their guarantee would hold good in the event of the intervention of the Porte alone.

M. de Freycinet, whose uncertain and hesitating policy and objections to every apparently practicable means of intervention had brought matters to a dead lock, had been reluctant to agree to Turkish occupation of Egypt in any form, lest it should lead to an armed intervention by the Turks. He wanted to ensure that the intervention of the sultan should be no more than a "moral" one. Lord Granville had stated his own objection to any armed intervention, but had added that if such became necessary, and the

presence of troops was unavoidable, the troops of the sultan would be the best considering all the circumstances.

On the 5th of May the French cabinet had decided on what they probably regarded as only a display of material force for the sake of producing a moral impression, and proposed that six French and six English ships of war, of draught light enough to enable them to enter the harbour, should be sent to Alexandria.

France had hitherto left upon England the whole burden of finding a mode of intervention, just as she afterwards left to us the burden of carrying out the results of the demonstration which she had proposed, and gave us no assistance but rather harassed and impeded us in the dangers and difficulties which followed; but it was considered necessary by our government loyally to maintain that co-operation which their predecessors had deliberately created. Despatches and circular notes by the score had been flying about among all the cabinets of Europe; there seemed to be no way out of the difficulty, and now the proposition made by the French government brought about immediate co-operation by which it was hoped the protection of the khedive, the restoration of a legitimate government by the defeat of the rebellious chamber and its mutinous chief, and the preservation of guaranteed international interests, might be effected.

There were of course many people who regarded Arabi's demands as genuine claims prompted by patriotism, and declared that the national support which he had obtained was so obvious as to require us to hesitate before consenting to any forcible means whatever, or even the menaces which the mere appearance of vessels of war would imply. It was true that there had been considerable encouragement to the attitude assumed by the mutinous ministry by the pronounced disaffection of a large number of persons. As early as March 20th, however, Mr. Cookson had pointed out to Lord Granville that many of the notables and others having a stake in the country were seeking to withdraw from the alliance with the military party and to escape from its domination; that adherents of Ismail Pasha were showing themselves and were ready to hail his return; that he counted on the

support of France, as he thought his restoration would enable her definitely to rid herself of the probability of Turkish intervention; and that there was much disorder and disorganization in the provinces. This at all events showed that Egypt was imminently liable to complete anarchy on the one hand or on the other, either to reaction against the military dictatorship of a rebel and usurper, or the armed suppression by Turkey not only of revolt but of independent government.

On the 15th of May the sailing of the combined fleets from Suda in Crete was telegraphed. The French and English governments had instructed their representatives to advise the khedive to take advantage of the arrival of the ships to call for the resignation of the Arabi ministry, to place Sherif Pasha or some such person at the head of affairs, and to connive at the deportation of Arabi and his colleagues should the incoming ministry be inclined to such a measure. Tewfik had no grasp, no decision, and affairs became worse rather than better in consequence of the policy of the western powers. Sir E. Malet and the French representative at Cairo joined in an ultimatum demanding the dismissal of Arabi, Ali Fehmy, and Abdoullah Pashas. Nothing came of this, and a few days later the English naval force at Alexandria was increased, and invitations were issued to the European powers to a conference at Constantinople, while by the reluctant consent of the French cabinet the presence at Alexandria of a Turkish man-of-war was asked for in order to show that the sultan was in accord with the European powers. Dervish Pasha, who had been on a special mission from the sultan to the khedive, was requested to put a stop to the military works which were being pushed forward on the fortifications of Alexandria.

Those fortifications consist in the first place, of a wall with towers, beginning at the east harbour, and inclosing the town to the north, east, and south. Four fortified gates break this inclosure, those of Ramleh, Rosetta, Moharrem Bey, and the one near Pompey's Pillar. Towards the south and south-west there are only small and insignificant open bastions; but the actual harbour defences are of great importance.

Fort Marabout is built on an island to the extreme west, and was armed with two 12-inch 18-ton guns, two 9-inch 12-ton guns, twenty 32-pounders, and five mortars. Fort Mex, with the adjacent works and batteries, numbered fifty-six guns, of which seven were heavy rifled Armstrongs. Among the adjacent works was a redoubt with seven guns; a tower with two; Fort Kamaria with five; Omuk Kubebe with eighteen cannons; and Fort Tsale. Towards the inner harbour lies Fort Gabarrie, and Fort Napoleon still farther north-east. The Lighthouse Battery, on the southern front of the Ras-el-Teen peninsula, was armed with six rifled muzzle-loaders, one rifled 40-pounder, and twenty-eight smooth-bores. Between this and the Hospital Battery were eight rifled breech-loaders, and twenty-seven smooth-bores, mounted on earth-works. Then came Fort Ada with five rifled muzzle-loaders and twenty smooth-bores; and on the north-east, Fort Pharos, with eight rifled muzzle-loaders and thirty-seven smooth-bores, which took a prominent part in the fight that afterwards ensued.

The heaviest artillery in these forts consisted of 18-ton and 12-ton guns of the old Woolwich pattern, which were made by Sir William Armstrong at Elswick, for the Egyptian government, in 1868 and subsequent years. The guns of a larger size fired 400-lb. Palliser shells, with a charge of 50 lbs. of powder. These shells are capable, with a favourable angle of impact, of piercing 12-inch armour-plates.

There have been so many glowing descriptions of the modern city of Alexandria and its environs that there is little occasion to interrupt our narrative by dwelling on the features of this attractive city. Though the ancient portion has entirely disappeared, it suggests the history of ages. Napoleon Bonaparte said that Alexander rendered himself more illustrious by founding Alexandria than by his most brilliant victories; and that it should be the capital of the world.

Modern Alexandria occupies only a part of the ancient site, being built chiefly on the isthmus that connects what was once the classic island of Pharos with the mainland, on which the old city stood. Successive alluvial deposits have widened this mole—the

ancient Heptastadium—into a broad neck of land, the seaward end of which is occupied by the palace of Ras-el-Teen, the arsenal, and several government buildings; after which, towards the mainland, comes the modern town, the development of which has been eastward, toward the Ramleh railway-station, connected with the city by fine rows of houses, forming boulevards, and let out in shops below and flats above, like the houses in Paris. In this direction, too, an excellent road along the Mahmoudieh Canal attracts, on Fridays and other fête days, crowds of private carriages, many of which might figure in the Bois de Boulogne or Hyde Park. "One half Europe, with its regular houses, tall, and white, and stiff; the other half Oriental, with its mud-coloured buildings and terraced roofs, varied with fat mosques and lean minarets," is the way in which Eliot Warburton described it above half a century ago, and that description still gives the idea of the place. But the modern improvements effected in the city, the lighting, paving, and even the scavengering, have made it equal in such respects to many second-class towns in France or England, so far as the Frank quarter of it is concerned.

Another writer, describing the aspect of out-door life in the quarter probably between the custom-house and the square named after Mohammed Ali, in the vicinity of the consulates, the English church, and the principal hotels, says, "Here came a file of tall camels laden with merchandise, stalking with deliberate, solemn steps through the bazaars; there rode a grand-looking native gentleman in all the pride of capacious turban and flowing robes; yonder passed some ladies on donkeys, enveloped in black *babara*, and the more remarkable white muslin veil, which universal out-door costume of Egyptian women only suffered two dark eyes to gleam from behind the hideous shroud. And if the carriages we saw had a smack of Europe they were driven and attended by men in oriental dress, and, even stranger still, were preceded at their best pace by a bare-legged Arab, who shouted to the passengers to get out of the way—the shrill cries of this active *avant-courier* resounding on every side; and fortunate is the stranger who is not run over in the narrow streets by some cantering donkey, or

knocked down by some tall camel laden with heavy boxes as he stands staring at the unwonted scene. . . . But with all its sights and sounds . . . Alexandria is but semi-oriental at least, and no more resembles Cairo than Calais is to be compared to Paris."

A motley crowd was to be seen in Alexandria at the time that the Europeans there were about to be threatened with renewed attacks and when British vessels of war were already preparing to defend them, and but for the restraining influences of civilized policy might have landed enough men to overawe their assailants. Ten years before there were 212,000 inhabitants in Alexandria, of whom 48,000 were Europeans, the remainder being made up of Arabs, Turks, Copts, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Maltese, and a mixed group of Levantines.

The British squadron, which with that of France anchored off Alexandria on the 20th of May, consisted of eight iron-clads of a weight and construction which had not yet been tested in actual warfare, and five gun-boats. The iron-clads were:—

The *Alexandra* (Flagship): armed with two 25-ton guns, and ten of 18 tons each; armour, 8 to 12 inches thick. The *Inflexible:* armed with four guns of 81 tons each; armour, 16 to 24 inches thick. The *Temeraire:* armed with four guns of 25 tons each, and four of 18 tons each; armour, 8 to 10 inches thick. The *Superb:* armed with sixteen guns, four being of 25 tons, and four of 12 tons each; armour, 10 to 12 inches thick. The *Sultan:* armed with eight 18-ton guns, and four 12-ton guns; armour, 6 to 9 inches thick. The *Monarch:* armed with four 25-ton guns, and two of 6½ tons each; armour, 8 to 10 inches thick. The *Invincible:* armed with fourteen guns, two being of 12 tons each; armour, 5 to 6 inches thick. The *Penelope:* armed with ten 12-ton guns; armour, 5 to 6 inches thick. The gun-boats *Bittern, Cygnet, Beacon, Condor,* and *Decoy* were each armed with three guns, and furnished with Gatling and Nordenfeldt guns, and with torpedo apparatus. The total force was 3539 men and 102 guns.

This formidable naval force was under the command of vice-admiral Sir Frederick Beauchamp Paget Seymour, who may be

called a veteran, since he was in his 61st year. He had entered the navy as a boy, and passed through the grades till he became commander of H.M.S. *Harlequin* in 1848. He was on the staff of General Godwin in the Burmese war in 1852, where he led the storming party of the Pegu Pagoda, and was afterwards appointed to the command of the *Meteor*. From 1868 to 1870 Sir Frederick was private secretary to the first lord of the admiralty, and was subsequently, from 1876 to 1879, in command of the Channel fleet and the Mediterranean squadron.

On the news of the arrival of the fleets the ministers had presented themselves to the khedive at the Ismailia Palace and made their submission. The French and English consuls proposed that the khedive should issue a decree proclaiming a general amnesty, and at the same time asked the president of the council, the minister of war, and the three military pashas to quit the country for a year. Arabi at first declined either to resign or to leave the country. Everybody believed that France and England would not despatch troops, and that France would not permit a Turkish intervention.

On the 20th of May the ministry resigned in a body, alleging that the khedive in accepting conditions from France and England had acquiesced in foreign interference, in violation of the firmans. Tewfik was bold (too late), he accepted the resignations, told the ministers that it was for him to arrange relations between himself and the sultan, and summoned the chief personages of state, members of the chamber, and merchants, with the superior officers of the Cairo garrison, to consider the situation. General Toulbeh at once told him that the army rejected the joint note, and only recognized the authority of the Porte. On the following day Arabi held a demonstration. The deposition of the khedive was proposed, but was negatived; but it was demanded that Arabi should be reinstated as minister of war, or the life of the khedive would not be safe.

The presence of the allied fleet at Alexandria seemed to increase the anxieties of the foreigners there. The Egyptian troops at once began to form batteries and earthworks, and within



ADMIRAL FREDERICK B. P. SEYMOUR, G.C.B.

1ST BARON ALCESTER.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE BRITISH FLEET AT THE BOMBARDMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, IN 1882

BY PERMISSION FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

BLACKIE & SON, LONDON, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH & DUBLIN

the city the feeling against Europeans was that of undisguised hostility. During twenty-four hours, from the 26th to the 27th of May, the town was in continual danger of being stormed by the soldiery, who actually had demanded and received cartridges to be used against Europeans. It was evident even then that a mistake had been made in not providing a sufficient force to land and protect the inhabitants of the city, for all the squadron could do was to silence the forts, and when they were destroyed the soldiers, smarting under defeat, would turn upon the Europeans.

Tewfik was powerless. Dervish Pasha's mission from the sultan was only to see whether he could reduce the khedive's authority still further, and gain an influence over the Egyptian army for the ultimate extinction of Arabi, when the Porte would hold the fate of Egypt in its hands. No ministry could be formed. Anarchy was really imminent; and the principal inhabitants of Cairo asked for the reinstatement of Arabi and his colleagues, to prevent, as they alleged, an insurrection and the slaughter of the Europeans.

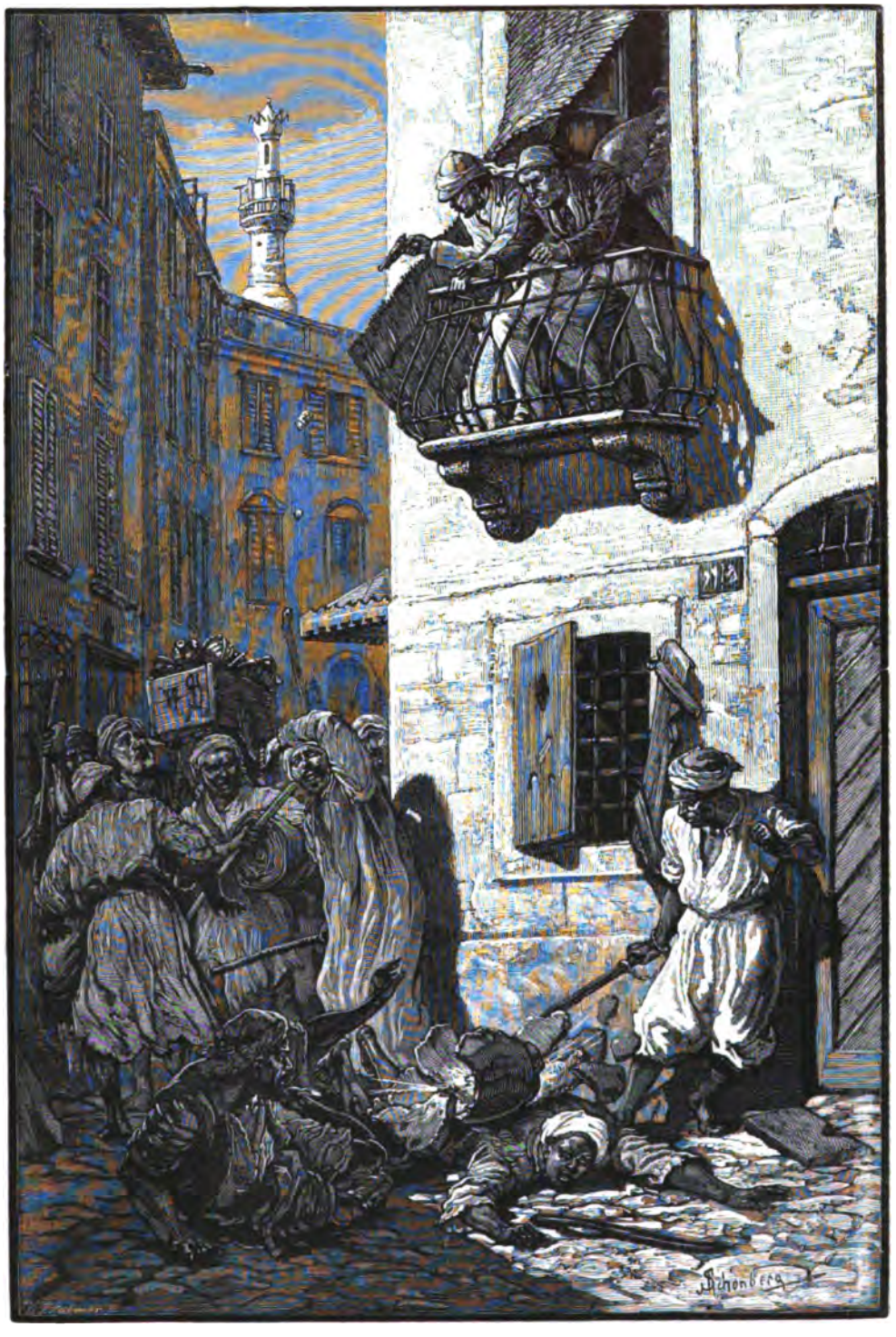
Arabi then became sole dictator; and it cannot be denied that he had remarkable powers of administration and, in appearance, an earnestness and sympathy with his countrymen which led numbers of them to regard him as a patriot. Probably he was not destitute of those qualities which belong to the patriot who thinks that the well-being of his country depends upon its submission to his advice and authority. He ordered the Alexandria forts to be placed in a position for defence, and the soldiery began to work upon them day and night. Repeated orders that they should cease were issued by the khedive and the English admiral. For some time the remonstrances from the admiral were met by a denial that the men were so engaged, but this falsehood was discovered. Long lines of earth-works were erected to cover the entrance to the harbour, and a strong light suddenly thrown upon them from one of the vessels showed the men at work upon them by night. Arabi had drawn round Alexandria the principal regiments of the Egyptian army.

On the 11th of June the spark that caused the conflagration

fell. A riot broke out in the town, commencing with a street brawl between a Maltese and an Arab. This appeared to be the mere cover for the riot which the military conspirators had planned that they might attack the foreigners. An Arab gave the signal for a Mussulman rising, in which the rioters assaulted, wounded, and killed a great number of Europeans and pillaged their houses. Mr. Cookson, the British consul and judge, was dragged out of his carriage and severely injured, the Greek consul-general was attacked, and a French consular dragoman with several French and British subjects were killed. The total loss of life was variously estimated, but the largest number was said to be two hundred.

Some officers and men of the British squadron were among the victims; with some exceptions the troops and police held aloof till the mischief was done. There was no direct evidence that Arabi had a hand in these outrages, but he was the head of the party which instigated them. He was still regarded by numbers of his countrymen only as a patriot desiring the independence of Egypt from foreign control; but though some of his actions and the apparent personal observance of the engagements he made with Europeans to some extent bore out this assumption, his conduct was also explicable by referring it to native craft, and the sultan's open encouragement of him, added to his defiance of the demands of the western powers, made a reckoning inevitable.

The khedive and Dervish Pasha, accompanied by the European consuls-general, had hastened to Alexandria, leaving Arabi in supreme power at Cairo. The uneasiness of the Europeans increased with the violence of the Arabs. The dictator had been recognized by the sultan, who conferred on him the highest rank of the medjidie. It was uncertain whether the Porte intended to suborn him or to crush him. He was now openly preparing resistance at Alexandria and a raid on the Suez Canal. International jealousies were suspended. The conference met, and a protocol was signed by all the powers and intrusted to the western powers. Efforts were made to induce the Porte to act under strict limitations as mandatory of Europe.



MASSACRE AT ALEXANDRIA.

EUROPEANS RESISTING ATTACK AT CORNER OF SISTER STREET,

JUNE, 1882.

After the Alexandria massacre the European representatives had applied to Dervish Pasha, as the sultan's representative, to insure the protection of Europeans in Egypt. Dervish replied that neither he nor the khedive had the power to do so, and being without troops must decline the responsibility; it was then found necessary to apply to Arabi himself, who at once undertook to make the orders of the khedive respected. Then, strangely enough, Dervish Pasha was ready to share the responsibility with Arabi for the execution of the khedive's orders, and the suppression of the inflammatory addresses and publications, but the apprehensions of the Europeans were so little allayed that a general exodus had taken place, totally paralysing trade even, before the khedive and Dervish Pasha had left Cairo.

The delusive delays of the sultan kept up the uncertainty of the situation. France, it was pretty well known, would not intervene, and it was supposed that if Turkey did not consent, England would not act without support. Those who thought so did not know England. Arabi, as Mr. Gladstone said, had thrown off the mask, and was aiming at the deposition of the khedive and the expulsion of the Europeans. England had determined to act, if possible, with the authority of Europe, with the support of France and the co-operation of Turkey; but if necessary, alone. Alone she had to stand, for when it became necessary to proceed to active measures, the French squadron withdrew and went to Port Said. Alone she has had to continue those strenuous efforts which arose from conditions which none could foresee, and involved principles from the assertion of which, in the estimation of a large number of our countrymen, she could not honourably or consistently have shrunk. Alone she has, at all events, attempted (even if it has been mistakenly) to vindicate right and justice against fanatic lawless barbarism. Perhaps the attempt has resulted in serious material loss; but it has at least shown the world that England is not merely a name in Europe, and that her old renown for courage and endurance may yet be perpetuated. It has done more, for after all we have not stood alone. Men of the same race and breed came from the Antipodes and stood with us. Our brethren,

children of the mother country, in the great colony in which the men and women are English still, and recognize the empire that claims them and us together, unostentatiously joined our ranks when there was nothing to be gained by it, no material reward, few honours, little of what is called glory; and the arrival at Suakim of that phalanx of stalwart and efficient soldiers from New South Wales will never be forgotten, for the English in England have taken the event to heart.

In spite of broken pledges and orders from the khedive and the sultan, Sir Beauchamp Seymour reported that the works on the fortifications at Alexandria were still actively carried on, and it became necessary to act with decision. The admiral's remonstrances had been met by persistent denials and by evasive replies. On the 7th of July, he decisively intimated that he should not hesitate to commence a bombardment of the forts if his request was not complied with. Three days later he sent an ultimatum demanding the cessation of work on the fortresses, and the immediate surrender of those nearest to the entrance to the harbour. If these terms were not complied with in twenty-four hours the bombardment would commence. By that time most of the European inhabitants had embarked on board the ships which had been provided to receive them; and no satisfactory reply having been received from Arabi, the British ships at nightfall on the 10th began to take up positions for the attack.

July had opened threateningly, the state of tension at Alexandria was extreme, the irritation in the fleet at seeing the Egyptians throwing up batteries and mounting heavy guns under their very eyes grew hourly greater, while the Egyptians, confident in their numbers, in the strength of their forts, and in their fanaticism, had no doubt whatever of their power to repel any attack the fleet might make. They knew, too, of the preparations which England was making for war, and thus the outbreak of hostilities became hourly more imminent; still, when on the morning of Monday, July the 10th, the last of the European residents in Alexandria embarked on board ship, and Admiral Seymour sent in his ultimatum, people could hardly believe that a serious engagement

between the British fleet and the forts of Alexandria was about to commence.

Rarely has such a scene, as that which the harbours of Alexandria presented, been witnessed. The transition from peace to war is generally gradual, and long before a hostile fleet appears off a town which it intends to bombard, the harbour is deserted by shipping, the defenders are at their guns, and a broad space of water separates the parties about to engage in battle. But there was no such line of separation here; although already many of the merchant steamers had left, crowded with fugitives, there were many still in port.

Boats moved to and fro between them, the flags of the various nationalities flew from the peaks and mast-heads, the rolling masses of smoke from the funnels, the hoarse roar from the steam-pipes, the movements of the sailors as they prepared to cast off from their mooring-buoys, and the low thud of the propellers, as one after another the steamers glided slowly out from the harbour, all told of departure. But a departure, it would have been thought, on some distant expedition; no looker-on could have dreamt that all this life, and stir, and movement was but a prelude for a deadly conflict between the ships of war and the town, whose houses were reflected in the still water of the landlocked harbour.

There the population gathered on the now deserted walls, and gazed wonderingly at the departing ships. Groups of soldiers stood on the ramparts of the forts on the sand-hills between Fort Gabarrie and Fort Mex. Knots of women on the flat-topped roofs of the houses looked wonderingly at the scene. Even those most assured that hostilities were about to commence, could hardly credit their eyes, or believe that this peaceful spectacle would be succeeded by a tremendous struggle.

As the morning went on, the movement of departure accelerated. Scarce a breath of wind was blowing. The various ensigns drooped against the masts. The eastern sky was bright overhead. The deep blue of the sea was unbroken by a ripple. The white-clothed crews of the men-of-war were clustered in the rigging, and the decks of the merchant steamers were black with

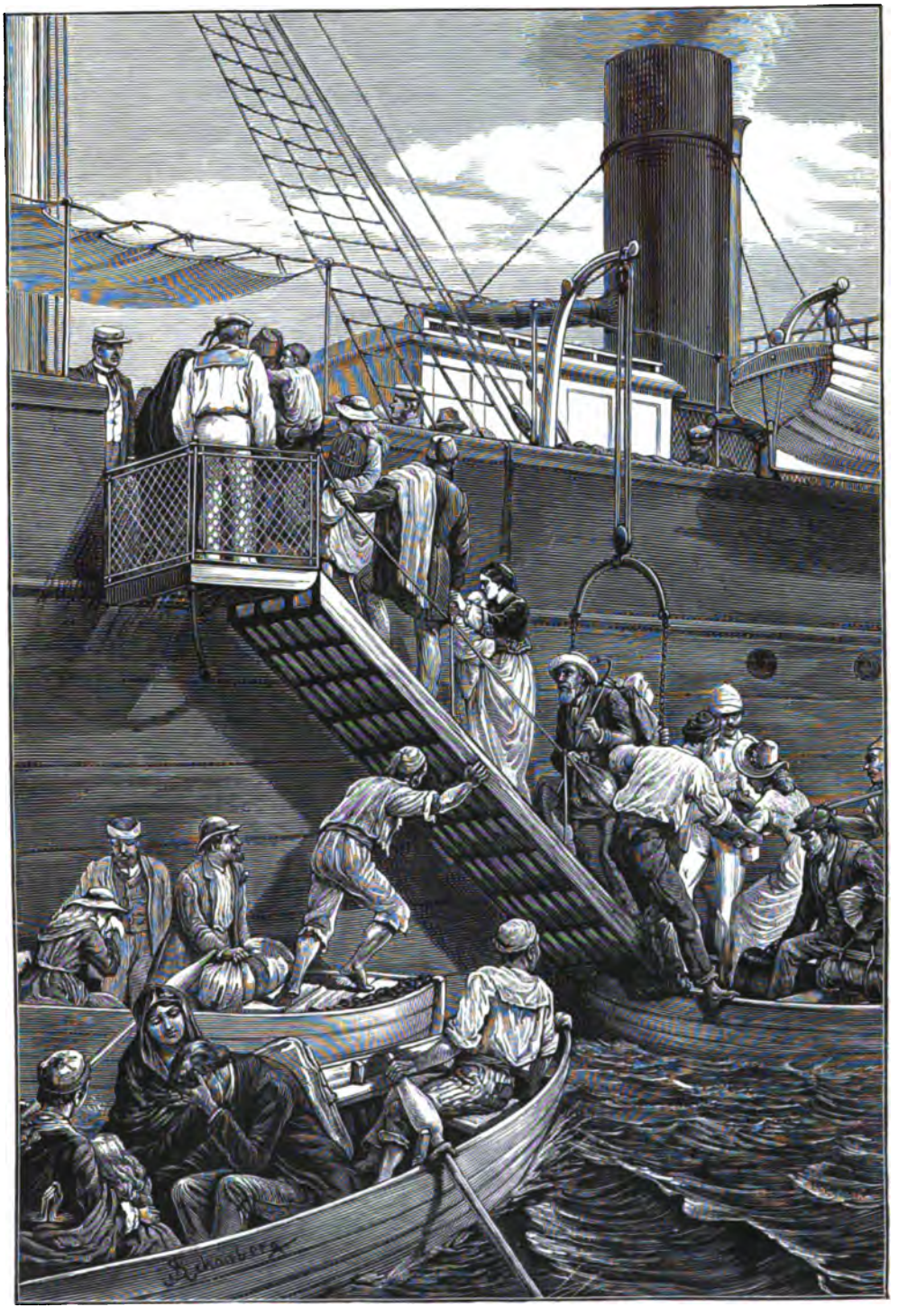
the fugitives, who, as the vessels steamed out of harbour, gazed at the town, and in low tones chatted of what would happen to the houses, and stores, and possessions they had left behind.

There were still boats passing between the ships and the shore as the last lingerer put off. In some cases there was difficulty in getting on board. The two English engineers on board the tug *Champion* were seized by the Arab crew, and were being carried away, when the gun-boat *Bittern* started in pursuit and rescued them. The director of customs was stopped on his way, and taken, with the cash-box which was carried with him, before Arabi, who confiscated the cash, but allowed him to go on board.

Now the men-of-war of the various nationalities began to move out. These steamed out in regular squadrons, saluting as they passed the flagship of the English admiral, the bands playing the national airs, and, in the case of the Italian vessels and the American warship, the crews manning the rigging and cheering lustily, their greeting being heartily answered by our tars. There was less demonstration from the French vessels, for the officers and men were alike sore and humiliated. It was the quarrel of France as much as of England, and up to the last moment the crews had thought that in the approaching struggle they would fight side by side with us.

It was not until that morning that their admiral had received definite instructions from his government, that they were to draw off and take no part in the conflict. On board our own men-of-war all was preparation, for it was possible that at any moment Arabi might take the initiative, and might open a fire from all the forts commanding the harbour upon the men-of-war still within them. The men were at their quarters, the heavy guns were laid on the ports in readiness for instant action, the water-tight compartments closed, the topmasts struck, and sandbags piled on the upper battery-decks to protect the men working the Gatling guns and the rifle-men posted there.

At eleven o'clock the *Invincible*, *Monarch*, and *Penelope* moved out from the inner harbour and cast anchor in the outer harbour. At one o'clock a steam launch towing a large boat full of Egyptian



FLIGHT OF REFUGEES FROM ALEXANDRIA,

JUNE, 1882

BLACKIE & SON: LONDON, GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH

officials was seen approaching the flagship. It contained Raghed Pasha and other members of the ministry. They had an interview with the admiral, but on being told that a letter had been already sent on shore with a demand that the forts commanding the harbour should be immediately dismantled, they returned to confer with Arabi.

In the city a great commotion reigned, crowds of the better class of the inhabitants were leaving the town. The streets were full of an excited populace eager to commence the work of plunder from the deserted houses of the Europeans, but, so far, strong bodies of the Egyptian troops who paraded the streets checked any attempts at plundering. In the quarter inhabited by the Greeks and Levantines all was quiet. These people, for the most part fishermen, boatmen, and employés at the wharves and warehouses, did not care to leave, but, barricading themselves in their houses, awaited the result.

By three o'clock the whole of the vessels in the harbour, with the exception of the three English men-of-war, had left. Outside, facing the sea forts, from Fort Pharos to the breakwater, lay the *Téméraire*, *Alexandra*, *Superb*, *Sultan*, and *Inflexible;* while behind them were the gun-boats *Bittern*, *Decoy*, *Cygnet*, and *Condor;* and behind these again lay, as a background to the scene, a great fleet of steamers, men-of-war, and merchantmen, curious spectators of the tremendous struggle which was about to begin.

At nine o'clock at night the *Invincible* and *Monarch* quietly steamed out of harbour. All lights were extinguished and perfect quiet prevailed fore and aft, the screws scarcely revolved, for the greatest care was necessary. The entrance to the harbour is, even at daylight, extremely difficult for vessels with a large draft of water, doubly so at night, especially as the Egyptians had extinguished the harbour light, and the exact position of the ships could only be ascertained by the lights in the shore batteries.

It was an anxious time, for at any moment the guns in these batteries might open and a hail of shot and shell be poured upon the ships; while the slightest mistake in steering would lay them ashore, a target for the enemy's guns on the morrow. There was

a sigh of relief on board, prepared and ready as all were for the worst, when the difficult passage was passed and the vessels anchored outside.

It was now ten o'clock, and the crews at once turned in. At four in the morning steam was got up, and the crews were piped to quarters. At half-past four the ships got under weigh and quietly assumed the positions which had been marked out for them. As the light increased the scene became gradually visible. The *Penelope*, *Monarch*, and *Invincible* were facing Fort Mex and the other batteries on the sand-hills; the *Alexandra*, *Superb*, and *Sultan* were lying near each other, facing Forts Ada, Pharos, and Ras-el-Teen; while the *Téméraire* and *Inflexible* were steaming slowly towards the *Invincible* to aid her in her attack upon Fort Mex.

The *Penelope* and *Invincible* being broadside ships prepared to anchor, while the *Monarch*, being a turret vessel and having an all-round range for her guns, was to fight under steam. On shore, the Egyptians could be seen grouped round the guns in their batteries, and evidently prepared to resist. A grim satisfaction lit up the faces of the crews as the word was passed round that the Egyptians were going to fight, for the sailors had, up to the last moment, feared that when the time came the Egyptians would not reply, but would allow their forts to be destroyed without firing a shot in their defence.

At a quarter past five the *Helicon* despatch boat, which had remained alone in the harbour, was seen steaming out. As she approached she signalled that she had Egyptian officials on board. When she reached the flag-ship it appeared that the officers were bearing a letter from the ministry to the admiral deprecating hostilities and offering to dismount their guns. The admiral felt that, however willing the Egyptian ministry might be to agree to his demands, they were powerless in the face of the opposition of Arabi and the army. He replied, however, in writing, that his demand was not only that the guns should be dismounted, but the forts dismantled, and that an hour would be given for the receipt of a reply again to his demand. While the admiral was discussing

the matter in his cabin with the principal Egyptian official, the other Egyptian officers mingled and conversed with those of the *Invincible.* They acknowledged that they had no hope whatever that Arabi would give way, and that they looked forward to the approaching hostilities as the only means of settling the deadlock which prevailed on shore, and determining whether the khedive and his ministers or Arabi and his officers were to govern Egypt.

After the *Helicon* had steamed away to shore a pause ensued, the crews still stood at their quarters ready for action. Scarce a word was spoken on board the great ships, and the slow beat of the engines, the word of command to the helmsman, and the striking of the ships' bells alone broke the silence. At half-past six the order was passed round the decks, "Load with common shell!" Another half hour passed, and then at seven o'clock the signal was made to the *Alexandra* to open the engagement by firing a single gun.

The great puff of white smoke burst out from her side, and the heavy boom came across the water. Every eye was fixed on shore. There was a stir among the groups of soldiers at the guns of the various batteries, and it could be seen that they were hard at work loading for her reply; then the signal was run up for the whole fleet to engage the forts.

In an instant the roar of the cannon of the broadside-ships crashed out, with the still deeper boom of the heavy guns in the turrets; while from the ships near the shore arose a steady continuous tapping like the beating of a drum, which told that the Nordenfeldt guns were at work in the tops. In an instant the ships were shrouded in white smoke, which piled up higher and higher as the firing continued; there was scarce a breath of wind blowing, and the vast quantity of smoke produced by the immense charges of gunpowder used in the guns hung round the ships, completely impeding the view of the gunners, and well-nigh hiding the vessels themselves from the sight of their opponents on shore and the spectators in the great fleet of merchantmen.

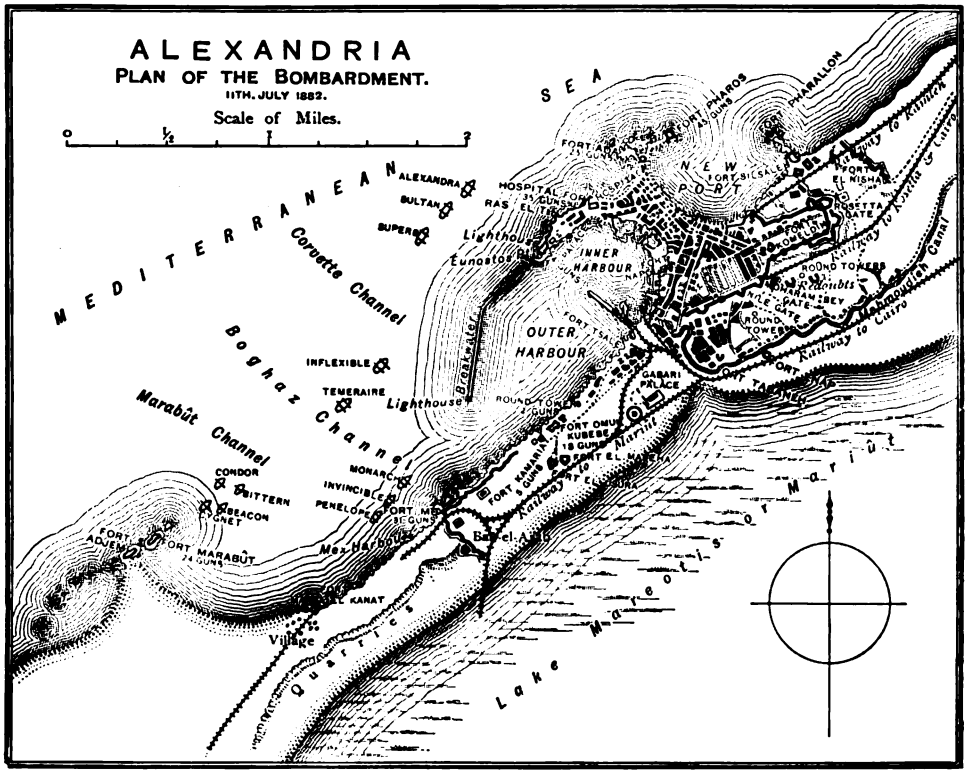
In no way appalled by the mighty roar, by the howling of the huge shell smashing into ruin and splinters everything they struck,

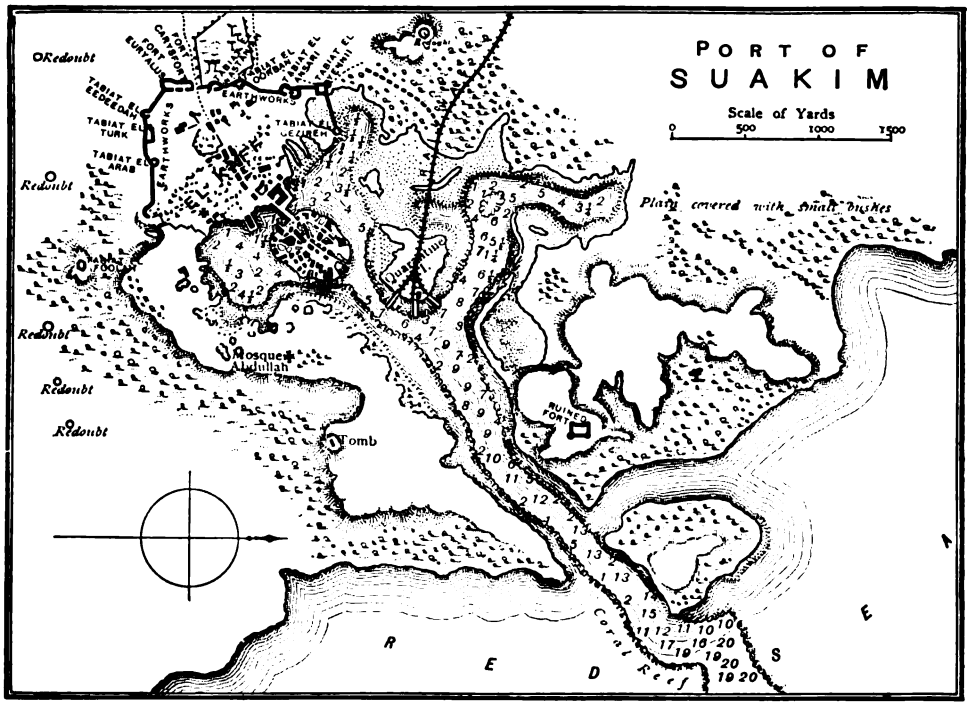
or by the hail of bullets from the machine-guns in the tops, the Egyptian artillerymen returned the fire of the fleet with steadiness and resolution. The scene was grand in the extreme. For the first time since the introduction of what are now considered as heavy guns, ships and forts were engaged in conflict.

A great problem, hotly discussed for years by military and naval men, was at last in process of solution. Now was to be seen in actual practice what was the effect on buildings and forts, masonry and earthwork, of the enormous masses of iron discharged by the huge weapons which skill and science, aided by tremendously powerful machinery, had constructed. Now was to be proved whether earthworks on shore were, or were not, a match for the iron-clad sides of modern vessels of war.

Few more picturesque scenes could have been chosen for the solution of the problem. Facing the *Alexandra* and her consorts were the batteries of the Pharos or lighthouse of Fort Ada and of Ras-el-Teen. Behind the last-named was the palace of the khedive; in line with this, behind the other forts, were barracks and storehouses, every outline and angle showing hard and distinct in the clear air of an Egyptian morning; behind them rose gradually the mass of the city, with its flat roofs, its houses painted white, brown, pink, or yellow, according to the taste of their owners, with here and there a dome or minaret.

Away on the right, where the *Invincible* was engaging Fort Mex and the other batteries along the shore, the sand-hills rose from the water's edge, dotted here and there by white houses, and surmounted by numerous low windmills. The results of the fire were speedily visible, great gaps appeared in the masonry of the buildings, yawning cavities in the smooth sand at the foot of the batteries marked the spot where the huge shell had exploded, the embrasures through which the Egyptian guns were replying were torn and widened, and although this could not be seen from the ships, every wall and house facing the sea was marked and pitted with the hail from the machine-guns. It would have been thought by those looking on that it was scarcely possible for men to stand by their guns before such a fire as this, but the Egyptian artillery-


ALEXANDRIA
PLAN OF THE BOMBARDMENT.
11TH. JULY 1882.
Scale of Miles.
0 ½ 1 2
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Corvette Channel
Boghaz Channel
Marabût Channel
Lighthouse
Eunostos
ALEXANDRIA
SULTAN
SUPERB
INFLEXIBLE
TEMERAIRE
Lighthouse
Breakwater
INNER HARBOUR
OUTER HARBOUR
NEW PORT
FORT SILSILEH
FORT EL KISHAR
FORT PHAROS
PHAROS
PHARILLON
HOSPITAL FORT
RAS EL TIN
GABARI PALACE
ROUND TOWER
FORT ONUM
KUBEBEH
18 GUNS
FORT EL MASKEA
FORT KAIAM
FORT'S GUNS
Railway
CONDOR
BITTERN
BEACON
FORT ADJEMI
FORT MARABÛT
14 GUNS
Mex Harbour
KANAT
Village
Quarries
Lake Mareotis
Canal to Nile
Railway to Cairo
Railway to Rosetta & Cairo
Mahmoudieh Canal


PORT OF
SUAKIM
Scale of Yards
0 500 1000 1500
Redoubt
Redoubt
Redoubt
Redoubt
Redoubt
Tabiat El Turk
Tabiat El Arab
Tabiat El Kebeereh
Tabiat El Gharbi
Tabiat El Sharki
Tabiat El Tanni
Earthworks
Fort Eurtalius
Quarantine
Mosque Abdullah
Tomb
Ruined Fort
Plain covered with small bushes
Coral Reef
RED SEA

men showed that whatever might be the value of Egyptian troops in the open field, they could fight their guns with a pluck and determination equal to that which the troops of any army in Europe could have displayed.

Around the ships the water was torn up by shot and shell, they hammered on the iron sides, hummed between the masts, and flew far out to sea, throwing up fountains of spray as they danced along the water before sinking. Fortunate was it for the fleet that the Egyptian artillerymen had had but little practice with the heavy Krupp guns which formed the chief part of the armaments of the forts. Had they done so the British ships could scarcely have maintained their position, but very few of their heavy bolts struck the vessels, most of them going overhead. The aim of the smaller guns was much more accurate, their shot striking the vessels continually, but falling innocuous from the iron sides.

A very few minutes after the firing began, the *Téméraire* grounded slightly, and the *Cygnet* and the *Condor* gun-boats went to assist her. She was soon afloat again, and the *Condor*, which was commanded by Lord Charles Beresford, then steamed away to engage Fort Marabout, which was assisting Fort Mex by keeping up a distant cannonade with her heavy guns upon the *Invincible* and her consorts. For a time the tiny gun-boat was the mark of all the heavy ordnance of the fort, but, steaming slowly backwards and forwards, she continued to send the shot from her seven-inch rifle-guns and her two sixty-four pounders into the fort. The *Cygnet*, *Decoy*, *Beacon*, and *Bittern* hastened away to aid the gallant little craft, and the signal, "Well done, *Condor*," was made by the admiral from the mast-head of the *Inflexible*.

The boom of the fire from fort and fleet was now continuous, the air quivered with the deep roar of the heavy guns, the hum of shot and shell, the rush of the rockets which the *Monarch* was firing, and the continuous angry rattle of the Nordenfeldts and Gatlings.

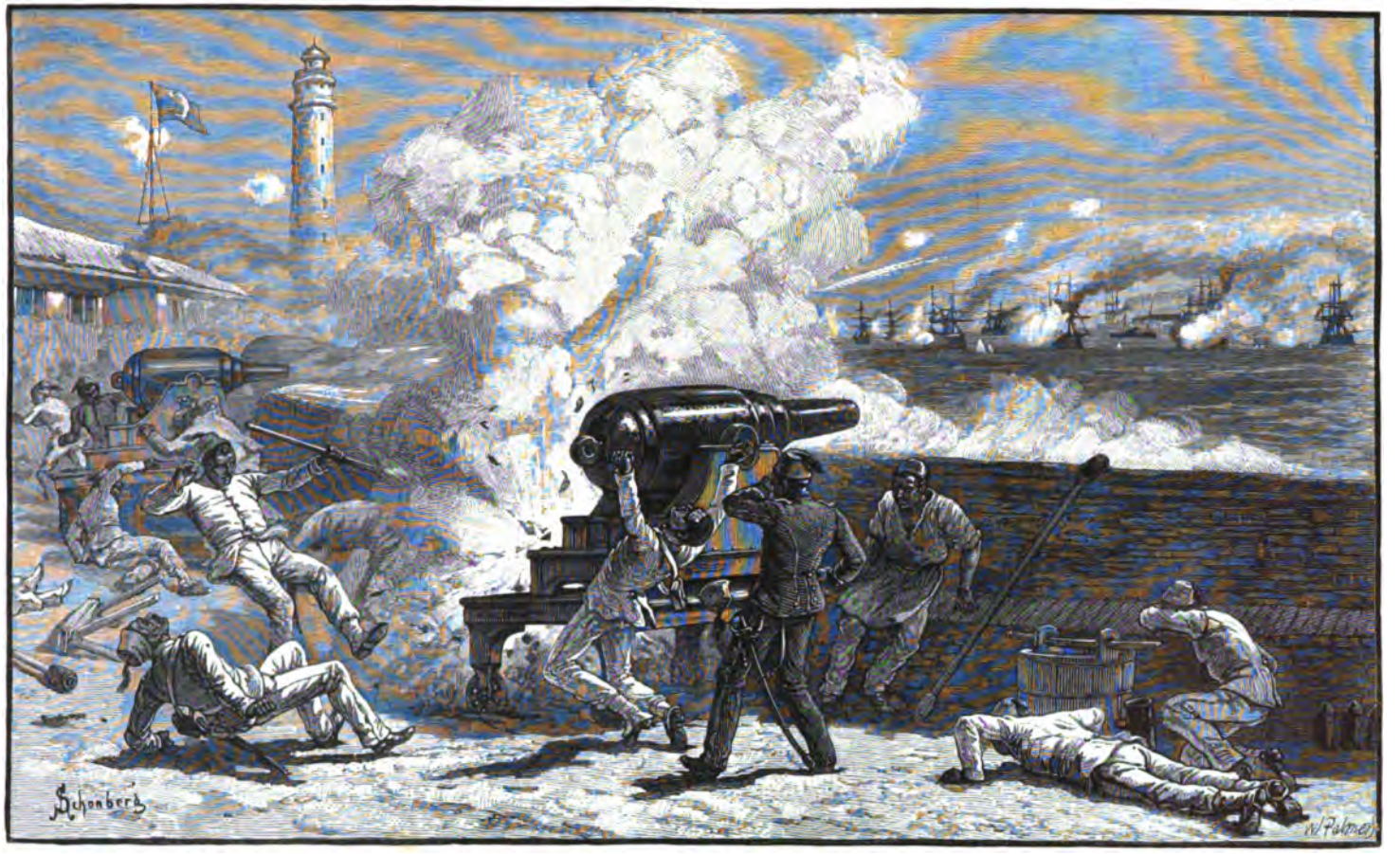
So dense was the smoke which clouded the ships that between each round of the heavy guns the sailors had to pause for a while

until it lifted and they were able to take aim again, the smoke again instantly shrouding the view and preventing them from seeing when the shot had struck. The midshipmen were placed in the tops where they were above the smoke, and whence they signalled to the deck the direction in which each shot had struck, thus enabling the sailors to correct their aim without seeing their target. By eight o'clock the *Monarch* had silenced a small fort opposed to her, set fire to the buildings and dismounted the guns, and she then joined the *Inflexible* and *Penelope* in their duel with Fort Mex.

By nine o'clock all the guns in that fort were silenced except four, two of which were heavy rifle guns well sheltered and handled, and the *Téméraire* was signalled to come up and aid the others in silencing them. The Egyptian officers could be seen whenever the smoke cleared away setting an example of coolness and courage to their men, jumping upon the parapets, and exposing themselves to the shots of the machine-guns to ascertain the effects of the fire. To the left the forts opposed to the *Inflexible*, *Sultan*, *Superb*, and *Alexandra* had soon begun to show the effects of the fire—the Pharos at the end of the point suffered most heavily, one of its towers was knocked down, its guns were absolutely silenced, while those of Fort Ada and Ras-el-Teen slackened considerably.

At half past ten the Ras-el-Teen or Karem Palace was discovered to be on fire, and in another hour the fire from the forts had all but subsided. The signal was therefore made to cease firing. As the smoke cleared away the effects of the five hours' artillery duel became visible. The shore presented a line of crumbling ruins, the forts were knocked out of all shape, yawning gaps showed themselves in the buildings behind them, guns could be made out lying dismounted or standing with their muzzles straight in the air.

The ships showed signs of the encounter in rigging cut away, yards damaged, splintered bulwarks, and dinted sides. The *Penelope* had been seriously struck five times, and eight men wounded and one gun disabled; the *Invincible* had been struck many times, but only six shot had penetrated, she had six men wounded; the armour of the *Superb* had been penetrated, one man



BOMBARDMENT OF ALEXANDRIA BY THE BRITISH FLEET.

VIEWED FROM THE LIGHTHOUSE BATTERY. 11TH JULY, 1882.

BLACKIE & SON: LONDON, GLASGOW, AND EDINBURGH.

had been killed and one wounded; two of the *Alexandra's* guns were disabled, she had one killed and three wounded; the *Sultan* had two killed and seven wounded; the *Inflexible* had one killed and two wounded.

The ships during the afternoon kept up an occasional fire upon the forts to prevent the Egyptians from repairing damages. Now that there was less smoke their aim was much more accurate than before, several small magazines were exploded, and a shell from the *Inflexible* blew up a large one in Fort Ada and completed the ruin of that fort.

At one o'clock the admiral called for volunteers on board the *Invincible* to go on shore and destroy the guns in Fort Mex, which the fire of the ships had failed to dismount. The service was a dangerous one, for, although the fort was silenced and no man could be seen in the battery, any number of troops might have been lying behind ready to oppose a landing; there was, however, a rush of volunteers ready to undertake the enterprise. Twelve men were chosen, Lieutenant Bradford was in command, and Major Tulloch and Lieutenant Lambton accompanied him, the guns were loaded, and the men stood at the Nordenfeldts and Gatlings, ready to open fire to support their comrades should opposition be attempted.

The surf was heavy on the shore and a landing was impracticable. The boat, therefore, lay to off the shore, and Major Tulloch and a party swam ashore and made their way into the fort. It was found to be deserted. The havoc wrought by the fire of the guns was so terrible and complete that the masonry was torn and shattered in all directions. Most of the guns were dismounted and their carriages smashed. Numbers of dead, shattered and torn by the explosion of the shells, or pierced by the fire from the machine-guns, lay about in all directions.

Two ten-inch guns were found still in position. Charges of gun-cotton, which had been brought ashore by the swimmers, were exploded in them, bursting them at the muzzle and rendering them unfit for service; the party then swam off again to the boat, and returned on board the *Inflexible*. Although the fire of the enemy

had been silenced, there were no signs of surrender on the part of the Egyptians, and when day closed the fleet prepared to resume the action in the morning. Fort Marabout and several of the batteries on the shore had still to be silenced. Forts Pharos, Ada, and Ras-el-Teen were mere heaps of ruins, but two heavy guns in a battery near the last named had continued throughout the day to reply steadily in spite of all the efforts of the fleet to silence them.

These guns were mounted on the Moncrieff system, being mounted on platforms, which, when the gun was ready for firing, rose to the level of the parapet, sinking again the instant it was discharged; the pieces, therefore, were entirely protected from fire, unless struck by a chance shot during the few seconds they were exposed above the battery. In the morning, however, the wind rose and a long heavy swell got up, the iron-clads rolling heavily at their anchorage. At eight o'clock the admiral summoned the captains of the ships of war on board the *Invincible*, and it was agreed to postpone the bombardment, as, with the vessels rolling so heavily, accuracy of aim would be impossible, and the shots might fly high and damage the town, which it was particularly desired to avoid.

At half-past ten the *Téméraire* signalled that parties could be seen at work at the Moncrieff battery, and asking whether fire should be opened upon them. An affirmative signal was made, and the *Inflexible* and *Téméraire* opened fire. Only six rounds of shot and shrapnel shell were fired when the Egyptians were seen running back to the shelter of the buildings behind the battery, and a few minutes later a white flag was hoisted at the Pharos.

Lieutenant Lambton was ordered to go inside with the *Bittern* to inquire if the government was ready to come to terms. His return was awaited with great anxiety by the fleet, for all were most anxious to know what was passing inside the town. Not only had the Ras-el-Teen Palace burned all night, but the flames of a great conflagration in the heart of the town rose high in the air, and as this fire could be made out to be in or near the European quarter, the numerous refugees on board the merchant steamers

were full of anxiety respecting the fate of their houses and property.

At three o'clock the *Bittern* steamed out again, and Lieutenant Lambton reported that his mission had been fruitless, the white flag, indeed, had been only hoisted by the officer in command of the troops, who had retired on the ships opening fire, in order to enable himself and his men to get away unmolested. As the *Bittern* had steamed in large bodies of troops were seen evacuating the barracks behind the forts.

Lieutenant Lambton found that the ministers had no proposals of any kind to make. He informed them that we did not consider ourselves at war with Egypt, but had simply destroyed the forts which threatened our fleet, and that we had no conditions to impose upon the government, but were ready to discuss any proposals they might make to us. Loufti Pasha, the military governor, had conducted the interview on the part of the government; he had been in command of the troops on the previous day, and admitted that they had suffered very heavily from the effects of the fire.

Lieutenant Lambton informed him, on the part of the admiral, that should he agree to the occupation of the forts by our troops the Egyptians would be allowed to evacuate them with the honours of war. As Loufti could give no definite reply whatever, the *Bittern* returned to the fleet. The sea had now got up so much that the bombardment could not be resumed. A few shots only were fired and the fleet then waited for the sea to subside. While the *Bittern* was absent the *Achilles* arrived and took up her position with the fleet ready for the recommencement of hostilities. News, too, came by telegraph that the *Orontes* with marines had arrived at Malta, and she was at once ordered to come on with all speed.

Had a regiment or two of troops been available they could have been landed at once, and in that case a great part of the terrible destruction which took place in Alexandria would have been averted. Unfortunately, the admiral had no such force under his command, and, in face of the large body of troops commanded by Arabi, and

the hostile population of the town, which was still protected by a number of land batteries, could not venture upon landing until the enemy gave some signs of surrender. At five o'clock a shell from the *Invincible* set Fort Mex on fire, and a few minutes later a white flag was hoisted there.

The *Helicon* was sent in from the authorities stating that the admiral would not notice white flags unless hoisted by authority, and that if again flown he should consider them as signs of a general surrender, and should act accordingly.

As the evening approached, fires were seen to break out in other quarters of the town, a dense pall of smoke hung over the city, and, as darkness fell, the whole place was lit up with the lurid light of the flames. The greatest anxiety was felt on board the fleet, for it was feared that Arabi had determined to destroy the city entirely, and the unfortunate refugees and merchants on board the steamers were distracted at the total ruin which appeared to await them. The *Helicon*, after being absent for a considerable time, returned with the news that no communication had been opened by the enemy, that the barracks and arsenal were deserted, and, as far as could be seen, the whole town evacuated.

The conflagration became more and more terrible, fresh fires continually breaking out, and it was no longer possible to doubt that the mob were plundering and burning the city, and that all the Europeans remaining there were being massacred. Admiral Seymour determined to make an attempt to ascertain the position of affairs. The steam pinnace of the *Invincible* was lowered, and Lieutenant Forsyth with an armed crew started up the harbour. Mr. Ross, one of the contractors for the supply of the fleet with meat, volunteered to accompany it and to land. As he was thoroughly acquainted with the city, the offer was accepted, and the boat put off.

It was a strange journey for the little craft up the harbour; the ships of the fleet were no longer in sight, the harbour was dark and deserted, not a light was to be seen in the houses near the water, not a sound to be heard on the shore. As the pinnace

proceeded on her way, her screw being occasionally stopped to enable those on board to listen for sounds which might tell of the presence of the enemy, a faint, roaring, crackling sound could be heard from the spot where, in the background, great sheets of flame were leaping up.

Louder and louder rose the sounds as the pinnace proceeded up the harbour. Now the dull crash of falling walls and roofs rose above the roar of the flames, but still no signs of human presence were manifest. On nearing the wharf the pinnace lay still for a minute or two, and then, as all was quiet, steamed up and Mr. Ross jumped on shore, and the boat backed on for a few yards, and there lay, the men musket or rifle in hand in case an attack should come. A quarter of an hour passed slowly, then a footfall was heard, the screw moved again, and, as the bow touched the wharf, Mr. Ross leapt on board, and they steered out again for the fleet. The explorer reported that he had met no living soul, that quarter of the town was entirely deserted; he had pushed on until his further advance was arrested by a barrier of flames.

The great square was on fire from end to end, the European quarter generally was in flames, and looking down the burning streets he could see by the litter which strewed the roadway that the houses had been plundered before being fired. The news excited the greatest indignation on board the fleet. Under the cover of the flags of truce, which had arrested the action of the fleet, Arabi had unmolested carried out the evacuation of the town and the destruction and ruin of the European quarter. Not only was the destruction of property enormous, but the gravest fears were entertained for the lives of the Europeans who had remained in the city.

Nothing could be done that night but to watch the ever-increasing conflagration, and to discuss the fate of the European population on shore, and the situation which had been created by the retreat of Arabi. Before daybreak boats were sent on shore, and it was found that all the forts had been evacuated. As soon as it was light, a number of persons were seen gathered by the

edge of the water in the harbour, and telescopes soon showed that these were Europeans. The boats of the nearest men-of-war were lowered and rowed to shore, the crews being armed to the teeth. They found about a hundred Europeans gathered on the wharf, many of these were wounded.

On the previous day, when rioting had broken out, they had, according to previous agreement, assembled at the Anglo-Egyptian bank, which was a strongly-constructed building, and there, through the afternoon and later on into the night, they had defended themselves desperately and successfully against the attack of the mob. As the evacuation of the city had proceeded, the assailants had drawn off, and they had towards morning made their way through the now deserted streets down to the water.

They reported that Arabi, before he left with the troops, had opened the gates of the prisons, and the convicts, joined by the lower class of the town and by the Arabs, who had for some days been hovering round the place ready to take their share in the plunder, had proceeded to sack the city, to kill every Christian they could find, and to set fire to the European quarter. From their post at the bank they could hear the sounds of shrieks and cries, and the crack of rifles and pistols. Numbers of wretched fugitives, trying to make their way to the bank, were cut down or beaten to death before their eyes, and they believed that they themselves were the sole survivors of the European population.

This, however, turned out not to be the case, as in some of the streets inhabited by the Maltese and Levantines these had barricaded their houses, and had opposed so desperate a resistance that the mob, knowing that little plunder was to be obtained there, had drawn off from the attack, and had retired to sack the wealthier portions of the town, where booty was to be obtained in abundance for the carrying away. Several fresh fires were seen to break out in the town, and, as this was a proof that a portion of the lower class of the population still remained and were continuing their work of plunder, the ships of war, which had hitherto been most careful to avoid firing at the town, now sent shells wherever flames

were seen to arise, in order to scare the ruffians from their work of destruction. This appeared to have a good effect, as from the time the firing began no fresh conflagration was seen to break out. The party of Europeans brought off from the shore were taken in the ships' boats to the merchant steamers lying behind the fleet, when their narratives confirmed the worst fears of the fugitives there, and destroyed the last hope that remained that their houses and property had escaped destruction.

The *Invincible*, *Monarch*, and *Penelope* now steamed into the inner harbour. From the tops people could be seen moving about plundering and setting fire to houses. The three ships could only land a contingent of three hundred men for shore service, and the admiral determined to land them, although the risk was unquestionably great, as the fugitives reported that Arabi with nine thousand men was lying just outside the gate in readiness to enter and destroy any force that might be landed from the ships. Virtually, however, nothing was done to check the work of destruction until eleven A.M. the next day (the 14th), when the rest of the fleet entered the harbour, and a party of blue-jackets were landed and took possession of Ras-el-Teen Palace. At noon two of the khedive's aides-de-camp came in from Ramleh Palace to say that the khedive was there with three hundred soldiers and was in considerable danger. By the orders of Arabi the palace had been surrounded by Toulbeh Bey with two cavalry and one infantry regiment. A party of armed soldiers entered the khedive's apartment and declared that they had orders to kill him and then burn the palace. By dint of lavish promises and money a portion of the force were bought over, and these escorted the khedive and Dervish Pasha to the Ras-el-Teen Palace, where they arrived at four o'clock in the afternoon. The khedive was received by a force of five hundred blue-jackets and marines, and the Egyptian escort were not allowed to enter the palace.

The arrival of the khedive was a great relief to the British admiral. Hitherto the position had been most anomalous. We were not at war with Egypt, for we were indeed fighting the khedive's battle against Arabi and the party which defied his

authority, and we had bombarded the forts of Alexandria because these forts threatened our ships; but the khedive and his government had declared neither for nor against us. We had, previous to opening fire, negotiated with the government, and not with Arabi direct; but the government, really incapable of enforcing its orders upon Arabi, puzzled and bewildered at the singular situation which had been created, had contented itself by returning evasive answers.

To bombard the forts which threatened us without being at war with the country in which they were situated was a singular proceeding; but it would have been a step further in the same anomalous course, had we landed and occupied Alexandria without permission from any authority, and simply on the plea of humanity. There would, indeed, have been plenty of precedents for such action. In the disturbances, revolts, and military *émeutes* which are constantly breaking out in communities like the petty republics of South America, it is no unusual thing for marines and sailors to be landed from European ships of war, which may happen to be in the harbour, to protect the lives and property of the European inhabitants. But such action in Egypt, a country in which there had been for years an extreme rivalry and jealousy between ourselves and France, was a more delicate matter.

Up to the time when the messenger arrived it was not known what had become of the khedive, whether he had fallen a victim to the troops or had been carried off by Arabi to be used as a puppet by him. His safe arrival at the palace put an end to all the difficulties; he became, in fact, our puppet, instead of that of Arabi, and henceforth our operations were conducted nominally by his orders or on his behalf. It was then by his authority that we at once landed the troops and began to suppress the disorders. A strong body of sailors and marines advanced into the town, carefully feeling their way, for nothing authentic was known as to the proceedings or position of Arabi.

A good many natives caught in the very act of pillaging and burning were at once shot, but nevertheless fresh fires continued to break out in various parts of the town. The scene in the city

was terrible. The grand square was entirely destroyed; all the houses in the European quarter, without an exception, had been plundered, and most of them were burning fiercely. The streets were almost impassable from the ruins of fallen houses, and from the heaps of litter of all kinds, smashed furniture, bedding, merchandise, clothes, boxes, in fact, the entire contents of the houses, save the articles carried away by the plunderers.

The troops had the greatest difficulty in making their way along. The streets were thick with smoke, and as they advanced, the plunderers could be seen issuing from the houses and making their way off laden with spoil. Several parties of fugitives had during the day made their way down to the wharves, and as the troops advanced, windows and doors were opened and many Greeks and Italians, with their families, came out and greeted the rescuers with tears of joy and gesticulations of enthusiastic welcome. For four days these poor people had been expecting instant destruction. Many had become insane from the long reign of terror.

Numbers of bodies of murdered Europeans were found in the streets. Fort Napoleon and the other land forts were soon occupied and the guns spiked, for the force was too small to hold them, and had Arabi's troops returned, they could from them have shelled the city. The American fleet had now entered the harbour, and the naval officer in command, moved by the terrible scene of destruction, took upon himself, without orders from home, the responsibility of aiding us in restoring order, and landed a hundred and twenty-five men to assist us. It was by this time known that Arabi had retired with his army to the neck of land connecting the line of sand-hills forming the sea-coast with the land, having on one side Lake Mareotis and on the other the Lake of Aboukir, and there encamped on the line of the railway and the fresh-water canal at a distance of ten miles from the city.

The Rosetta gate of Alexandria, through which the road in that direction passed, was guarded at night by a strong force under Major Phillips. By eleven o'clock at night all the members of the khedive's government, with the exception of Arabi, were assembled

in the palace of Ras-el-Teen, and the ministry nominally resumed their functions as the governing body of Egypt. In the course of the day all the guns in the sea batteries had been spiked or burst, and the officers of the fleet were able to ascertain the exact result of the fire of the ships. It was found to have been even greater than had been anticipated, the forts were in a complete state of ruin, the strongest walls had crumbled into dust before the explosion of the great shells.

In the first battery entered, the ground was torn up, the wall shattered, and the whole place dismantled. One of the two ten-inch rifle guns which it contained had been dismounted, the gun having been tilted backwards, making a complete somersault, crushing as it fell several of the artillerymen. It was an Armstrong gun, and its shot had struck the *Alexandra* several times before it was silenced. Numbers of dead were found in the batteries, which all presented a scene of havoc and destruction as complete as that which was first entered. The Egyptians had themselves dug deep pits in the rear of their batteries, and most of the dead had been thrown by them into these as they fell. Upwards of 400 of the Egyptians had fallen in Forts Pharos, Ada, and Ras-el-Teen.

On Saturday, the 15th, the work of suppressing the marauders began in a methodical manner. Captain Fisher, R.M., who had been placed in command of the town and forts, left the palace with a strong force of sailors, with four Gatling guns, and marched right round and through the city and reinforced the posts at the gates. At Fort Gabarrie Midshipman Stracey, who was in command, reported that during the night an armed body of Bedouins had approached the fort; they were challenged, and shots were fired; two of them were killed and the rest fled, leaving their booty behind them.

At the Rosetta gate the guard observed a party of Egyptian soldiers plundering the adjacent houses. When challenged the soldiers fired a volley; the marines on guard replied and killed four of the plunderers, the rest fled. At other posts it was found that some thirty men had been arrested for plundering during the night. These were afterwards flogged, the order being now

issued that all plunderers were to be flogged, and that incendiaries caught in the act were to be shot.

Lord Charles Beresford had been appointed to the command of the police arrangements of the town, having a strong marine force under his orders, together with three hundred disarmed Egyptian soldiers. Large numbers of the Arab population were also set to work in clearing away the ruins. Fire-engines, and two steam-engines belonging to the town, were set to work; and Lord Beresford used dynamite and powder to blow up the houses and arrest the progress of the flames. While Major Fisher's column was passing round the walls another force two hundred strong, under Major Phillips, landed at Ras-el-Teen, and moved towards the centre of the town.

Passing through the native quarter, which was found untouched either by shot or flames, but few of the inhabitants were seen in the streets. Each of these displayed a white handkerchief tied to a small stick. As the governor's quarters were passed half a dozen soldiers turned out; each wore a red ribbon tied on his arm, this having been adopted as the sign of allegiance to the khedive. The governor himself came out and greeted Major Phillips with a humility and deference which formed a very strong contrast to the arrogant insolence which, during the negotiations, he had displayed to the English officer with whom he then came in contact.

The column next passed through one of the low Christian quarters. Here they had to pick their way often in single file, the narrow street being bordered on each side by smouldering ruins, and the roadway strewn with rubbish of all kinds, the remains of the loot. They then entered what had been the great square; the equestrian statue of Mohammed Ali still stood in the centre, and behind it rose the Palais de Justice. The fountains still played in the centre of the garden. Along both sides and one end of the square the ruin was complete. Volumes of smoke still rose from behind the façades of the houses, bleached white by the intense heat to which they had been exposed; there were great gaps in this line of skeleton walls, where the whole face of the houses had fallen across the road.

A horrible smell of burning flesh from time to time assailed the nostrils of the party, and told of bodies of murdered Europeans upon whom the heated walls had fallen. Many trembling Europeans came out from the houses to inquire if the danger was over. Several Arabs were found looting and were taken prisoners. In spite of the patrols by the troops, fresh fires continued to break out; these were, many of them, in the native quarter, the Arabs appearing to take this opportunity of wreaking their spite against those with whom they had private quarrels. There no longer remained any doubt that the work of burning and spoliation had been carried out by the troops of Arabi, under the instigation of his officers.

On the 17th the *Tamar* with the marines, and the *Agincourt* and *Northumberland* with the 38th Regiment and the third battalion of the 60th Rifles arrived. Sir Archibald Alison also arrived from England, and his small contingent was allowed to land, but there were at present no hostilities with the army of Arabi. Captain Maude with a small escort of the khedive's cavalry made a reconnaisance to within half a mile of Arabi's outworks. His army was found to be strongly posted on the neck of land between the two lakes. Politically the situation was most singular; the members of the government were all creatures of Arabi. From the palace of Ras-el-Teen telegraph wires extended along the line of railway which ran through Arabi's camp, and a constant exchange of communication was kept up between the rebel leader and his friend the minister of the khedive.

Tewfik had ordered Arabi to come in to Alexandria, but the command was of course disobeyed. The English admiral pressed the khedive to declare Arabi a rebel. This was of great importance, as it was of the utmost necessity that the population of Egypt should be made to understand that the war was being made, not upon Arabi as the leader of the Egyptian army and the representative of the cause of Egypt, but against Arabi acting in defiance of the authority of the khedive and his government.

The khedive, however, could not be induced to issue the proclamation. Surrounded as he was by Arabi's friends, and wholly uncertain as to the length which England was prepared to go to

uphold him in power, he feared to break altogether with the party of which Arabi was the leader. The influence of Arabi's party with the population was far greater than had been believed; the majority of the people of Egypt viewed him as their champion, they regarded the khedive as a prisoner in the hands of the English, and his proclamations as emanating from them rather than from him. Arabi was the champion and defender of Egypt, and Tewfik a prisoner and tool of the English; any proclamations that the latter might issue against the former, therefore, weighed nothing in their minds.

Order was by this time restored in the town. Several frays had taken place between the Greeks and the native population, the former, finding themselves now safe, indulging in retaliations upon the natives, several of whom were stabbed; and the proceedings were only stopped by the execution of two Greeks who were taken red-handed in the act of murder. Much alarm was caused by the report, which turned out to be correct, that Arabi intended to cut the fresh-water canal, upon which the city almost entirely depended for its supply of water.

Directions were issued that all the wells in the city should be cleaned out and made available, that the cisterns should be all filled, and water stored wherever practicable. A daring effort was made by some of the native engine-drivers on the railway to make off with several engines and a number of carriages and trucks to Arabi, to whom they would have been of the greatest utility in bringing up troops or supplies from the interior. Fires were got up, and the trains were actually in motion when the attempt was fortunately found out, and the drivers stopped and arrested. A strong guard was placed in the railway depot to prevent any repetition of the attempt. The shops gradually opened, and the country people began to bring in supplies. The rubbish was so far cleared away in the principal street as to admit of passage along the centre. The refugees from on board the ships were landed, and those who were fortunate enough to find their houses still standing, although with everything in them smashed or destroyed, began the work of rendering them again habitable.

Had the line regiments, marines, and sailors marched at once against Arabi, there can be no doubt that they would easily have defeated his dispirited army; but the reluctance of our government to commence actual hostilities caused delay, which enabled him to regain the prestige which he had lost in the country from having been driven from Alexandria, and allowed him to strongly fortify his position, to bring up heavy artillery, and to add immensely to his army.

For some time after the bombardment of Alexandria Cairo and the rest of Egypt remained quiet watching events. It was only when it was found that the English remained apparently inactive shut up within the walls of Alexandria, that the belief in the star of Arabi revived, and the whole country again threw in its lot with him.

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